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SOME QUAKER FURNITURE MAKERS IN COLONIAL PHILADELPHIA

By MARGUERITE HALLOWELL*

The rapid growth of Philadelphia after William Penn's arrival in 1682 probably exceeded even his expectations, though it was largely due to his real-estate salesmanship in England and the Rhine Valley. The Quaker city became the cultural capital of the colonies within fifty years of its founding; it has been called "America's first boom town."[1] With the number of dwellings multiplying rapidly, there was a tremendous demand for furniture. The Quakers, whose diligence and thrift made them affluent, did not indulge in worldly pleasures, but liked comfort and good living. And so, as Joseph Downs of the Winterthur Museum declares, "Philadelphia was the undisputed center of furniture making before the Revolution. The numerous cabinetmakers whose names are identified with signed furniture give the Philadelphia school certain and undisputed supremacy."[2] He cautions against attributing furniture to specific cabinetmakers too confidently, since, as he

* Marguerite Hallowell, a member of Horsham Meeting, was formerly Office Secretary, Friends Central Bureau, Philadelphia.

[1] Carl W. Drepperd and Lurelle Van Arsdale Guild, *New Geography of American Antiques* (New York, 1948), p. 5.

[2] *American Furniture, Queen Anne and Chippendale Periods in the Henry duPont Winterthur Museum* (New York, 1952), p. xviii.

points out, "few labeled pieces exist as a basis of judgment."[3] Nevertheless, the Philadelphia Museum of Art today exhibits furniture known to have been made by three Quakers—William Savery, Thomas Affleck, and David Evans.

Furniture was made by a variety of craftsmen: cabinetmakers, chairmakers, joiners, turners, carvers, gilders, upholsterers, arkwrights or ships' carpenters. Though at one time there had been a marked division between the trades of cabinet and chairmakers (the former often being synonymous with joiner), the Chippendale Era brought the two together. John A. H. Sweeney, Assistant Curator at the Winterthur Museum, says, "The smallest firm consisted of a master and his apprentice, perhaps a journeyman or two. Many more were employed in large shops and there must have been a great division of labor, if not an assembly line." Identification of a maker is difficult, since the same specialist, such as a carver, might work for various chairmakers. The cabinetmakers united at times in setting price lists and the journeymen also banded together. "In the economic unrest which followed the Revolution," Sweeney adds, "journeymen's societies were common and strikes not infrequent. In the 1790's the master cabinet and chairmakers of Philadelphia distributed handbills declaring they would not employ any journeymen as society men, but as individuals. The bickering between workmen and employers led to the publication in 1796 of *The Cabinet-Makers Philadelphia and London Book of Prices,* which established fees for the workmen. In the preface of the book, the masters and journeymen agreed on a cost-of-living raise, identical in principle to the practice instituted by General Motors in 1948."[4]

In Philadelphia, Second Street was a popular place for the craftsmen who hung the "sign of the Chair" outside their doors. The shops were small. William Savery's, for example, was only twelve feet wide, and Savery and his family lived above his shop, located a little below the Market in Second Street. Savery was a Quaker, born in 1722. He became a property owner in his late teens and by the age of twenty-four had an income of fifty-two

[3] Ibid., #39.

[4] "The Cabinetmaker in America," *Antiques,* October 1956, p. 368.

pounds from real estate he owned.[5] He was active in Philadelphia politics but was so industrious at his trade that he became one of the finest cabinetmakers of the New World. Yet he did not make a practice of applying the ornamentation himself, and in fact did not even own a set of carver's tools.[6] "A carved lowboy by Savery was the first labeled piece of Philadelphia furniture to be published," wrote Joseph Downs, "and resulted in a fabulous reputation for that craftsman. His standing has since diminished by the discovery of several more ambitious, documented pieces by various cabinet and chairmakers, but none has exceeded William Savery for sound craftsmanship."[7] Eleven pieces known to have been made by him were at a special exhibit at the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1935.[8] Savery apparently started what is today called the Philadelphia School of Cabinetmaking, though he was concerned only with making fine furniture. Others, some equally good and many of them fellow-Quakers followed in his footsteps: Benjamin Randolph, John Elliot, Jr., Jonathan Gostelow, George and Joseph Claypoole, Thomas Affleck, Henry Clifton, John Folwell, Joseph and Stephen Armit, and William Wayne.[9]

According to William Hornor, Thomas Affleck, a Friend, was the paramount figure in the cabinet and chairmaking craft and the leader in the Philadelphia-Chippendale School.[10] He was born in 1740 in Aberdeen, Scotland, learned his trade in London, and was brought to Philadelphia in 1763 by his patron, Governor John Penn. According to an unpublished assessor's list of 1783, discovered by Mr. Hornor, Thomas Affleck's occupational tax as joiner was 250 pounds.[11] Thomas Affleck owned a copy of Chippendale's *Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director;* he is the first Philadel-

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[5] *New Geography,* p. 112.

[6] William M. Hornor, Jr., *Blue Book of Philadelphia Furniture: William Penn to George Washington* (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 100-101.

[7] *American Furniture,* #39.

[8] Foreword by William MacPherson Hornor, Jr., *A Loan Exhibition of Authenticated Furniture of the Great Philadelphia Cabinet Makers* (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1938).

[9] *New Geography,* p. 114.

[10] *Blue Book,* p. 73.

[11] Ibid., pp. 319-321. Savery's tax in the same year was £50; John Letchwood also paid £50 and David Evans paid £100.

phian known definitely to have possessed this folio volume and some of his authenticated furniture is taken from it in its entirety. He had his shop at Second Street and Lownes Alley, in the area known as Society Hill, and received valuable commissions from the Penns and their circle of friends. The Penn family paid Affleck well and he could therefore afford to expend great care upon their orders, while some other makers might limit the time spent on furniture in accordance with the amount of money to be paid.[12]

As a Friend, writes Hornor, Affleck "enjoyed a measure of the patronage from that sect." He must have been esteemed by the authorities, for he received commissions to furnish Congress Hall. On January 10, 1794, he supplied the slightly tapering moulded-leg Delegates' Chairs, originally upholstered in red leather, which are usually called Signers' Chairs, but which Mr. Hornor shows to be of considerably later date than the Declaration of Independence.[13] Thomas Affleck was loyal to the Crown and the Proprietaries during the Revolution. He was one of the "exiles" to Virginia, whose story is told by Elizabeth Gray Vining in *The Virginia Exiles.* But two years before his arrest as a Loyalist on September 2, 1777, he had been fined and listed as a soldier under Captain Rossbotham in the Fourth Battalion. (Even William Savery, another staunch Friend, was officially in the militia, it may be noted, and Quaker David Evans in 1776 was making tent poles, camp chairs, and cot bedsteads for the army.[14])

David Evans was one of the Welsh Quakers from Gwynedd Valley. In 1780 he was living in Elfreth's Alley in Philadelphia, but in the city's first directory in 1785 his address (probably his shop) is given as Arch between Third and Fourth Streets, known as Leather Place. From 1794 to 1814 his address in the directories is 115 and 215 Mulberry (or Arch) Street, and he is listed there as "Cabinet and Venetian blind maker." He kept four journeymen working at one time and exported furniture to other places—to Bordentown, New Jersey, to Washington, and to Virginia. Evans

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[12] Ibid., p. 95. Hornor, in his research for this book, had access to the original accounts, covering many years, between Affleck and his patron, Governor Penn.

[13] Ibid., pp. 73, 176.

[14] *Blue Book,* p. 236; "The Cabinet Maker in America," p. 366.

was a versatile cabinetmaker, turning out all classes of work—dolls' cradles, pine tables, ironing boards, coffins, mahogany chairs with claw feet, clock cases of walnut and of mahogany, some with "fluted corners and Pitch Pediment head," beds, and bookcases. Apparently Pembroke tables were a specialty in his shop. In 1776 on the order of Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Continental Congress, he made a reading desk for Congress and in the following year, a large writing table.[15]

Another Quaker and a minister was John Letchworth, who was born in 1759 and retired in 1805 to become a school teacher. He was the maker of the Windsor chairs for the new City Hall which was erected at Fifth and Chestnut Streets in the autumn of 1791.[16] William Hornor writes that "John Letchworth appears to have appreciated, probably better than any of his contemporaries, the value of contrasting woods. Almost all of his known armchairs have mahogany rails added to the back to form the arms. In his Windsor adaptation of the Chippendale ladder-back he shows his sense of the decorative value of woods. Five sorts are evident in this chair: maple for the legs, poplar for the seat, mahogany for the arms, hickory for the uprights, and walnut for the pierced slats. A knowledge of structural advantages also is indicated in the selection of each wood for its particular use."[17] Before his retirement Letchworth made no less than eight distinct styles of chairs in addition to benches. Several are pictured in the *Blue Book:* each is constructed upon the same general pattern, yet each one testifies individually to Letchworth's skill.[18]

In the earliest colonial days chairs had been exceptionally scarce. Old wills and inventories reveal that possession of two or three chairs was opulence. The rest of the seating was on the forms or benches common to all homes. After 1660 the chair became more common. Between that year and the year 1770 the roster of chairs made and used in the colonies includes the wainscot, Carver, Brewster, slat-back, banister-back, Carolean splat-back, heart-back,

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[15] "New Delvings in Old Fields—David Evans, Philadelphia Cabinet-Maker, 1774-1814," *Antiques,* February 1932, p. 94.

[16] *Blue Book,* p. 297.

[17] Ibid., pp. 300, 301.

[18] Ibid., p. 310.

Cromwellian, and Flemish. William Savery made rush-bottomed chairs, many of the ordinary type with from three to six slats.

By 1730 the Philadelphia craftsmen had developed a new type of chair of all-wood construction that was sturdy and would take lots of punishment, yet was so attractive in shape and form that it was purchased by the wealthy. "This was the 'Philadelphia chair' which, on sight, captured the interest of all who saw it. Today it is called the American Windsor chair. It is Pennsylvania's first great contribution to a national chair style. Eventually this type of chair was made in every one of the colonies. Many colonial chairmakers invented delightful variants of the original Philadelphia chair."[19] Public institutions were great users of Windsors, the State House being for the most part furnished with them.

The year 1730 was also significant, according to Hornor, for a general improvement in the quality of workmanship after a period of deterioration lasting for about twenty years after 1710. He calls the period from 1745 to 1789 the Golden Age of Philadelphia Furniture, the brilliant Chippendale period, when, as he says, "The modest Colonial productions achieved distinctiveness in balance, symmetry, carving (whenever present), and substantial methods of construction."[20] There were no orthodox guides for all classes of furniture until Chippendale's *Director* was published in 1754. In Philadelphia, as elsewhere, the far-reaching influence of this book was responsible for some of the richest and most notable pieces. "Every conceivable object was fashioned with two qualifications in mind—utility, based upon contemporary standards of comfort; and fashion, usually a mirror of the London modes, as adopted in the households of Philadelphia's best people."[21] Joseph Downs concurs in this estimate: "Philadelphia Queen Anne furniture gave promise early of the individual virtues it soon developed and of the unique flowering of the Chippendale style which followed it, combining Quaker stability with worldly elegance."[22]

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[19] *New Geography,* p. 110.
[20] *Blue Book,* p. 35.
[21] Ibid., p. x.
[22] *American Furniture,* p. xxvi.

THE REPUTATION OF A QUAKER BUSINESSMAN

By ROBERT DAVISON*

Quaker writing of the early centuries, as most Friends of today are aware, shows a consistent tendency to single out one occupational group—the merchants—for special warning against conduct not in strict accord with the good order prevailing among Friends. Among the acceptable forms of employment, no other vocation, certainly not that of farmer, artisan, doctor, scientist, or common laborer, merited the unusual amount of worry that was lavished on that of businessman.

Early in the Society's history George Fox became fearful lest the worldly wealth of the merchants endanger their spiritual life. Ambrose Rigge's *Brief and Serious Warning to Such as Are Concerned in Commerce and Trading* deplored in 1678 the dangers in this worldly calling, because, in some cases, the merchant "brings a great reproach upon the blessed TRUTH he professeth, which is worse than all; and this hath already been manifested in a great measure."[1] William Penn's warnings "On an Immoderate Pursuit of the World" or on "luxury" are generally familiar. Similar views to these appeared from time to time in Yearly Meeting epistles and minutes. Friends were advised in 1675, "That none trade beyond their abilities, nor stretch beyond their compass."[2] A 1692 extract noted, "It is advised and earnestly desired, that the payment of just debts be not delayed by any professing truth."[3] Similar advice reappeared in 1727: "Dear Friends, it hath long been the great concern of this meeting, that all Friends carefully walk in the Divine Light; that they may be preserved from the two

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* Robert Davison, Assistant Professor of History at Hofstra College wrote his doctoral dissertation at New York University on the business career of Isaac Hicks.

[1] Ambrose Rigge, *A Brief and Serious Warning to Such as are Concerned in Commerce and Trading* (1678). *Reprinted together with the Advices of several Yearly-Meetings of like tendency: by order of the Yearly-Meeting in London* (Stanford, 1805), p. 9.

[2] Ibid., p. 13.

[3] Ibid., p. 14.

extremes of covetousness on the one hand and extravagancy on the other; the latter of which, has been the occasion of the failings of some among us, in the non-payment of their just debts."[4] "With sorrow we observe," ran a Yearly Meeting comment in 1732, "that contrary to . . . example, and the repeated advices formerly given by this meeting . . . against an inordinate pursuit after riches, too many have launched into trades and business above their stocks and capacities . . . to the great reproach of our holy profession."[5] Thus the early advices ran.[6] Merchants were semi-suspect.

Perhaps fewer persons appreciate the other side of the coin: the high regard in which some Quaker merchants were held by conscientious parents and guardians who sought to safeguard the religious purity of their sons by apprenticing them to an upright Quaker establishment. Thus far from being suspect in some Quaker circles, the businessman might find himself a person valued for his influence upon youthful minds and morals.

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[4] Ibid., p. 15.

[5] Ibid., p. 17.

[6] This particular skeptical emphasis in early Quaker writing, real though it was, must not be mistaken for a complete statement of the relationship between the early Quakers and the merchants. Indeed, the extreme worry about the merchant's conduct suggests the actual ambivalence in the Quaker attitude. Viewing the subject from a broader historical perspective, one recognizes that the Calvinists and Quakers provided for the businessman a religious rationalization hitherto denied by the medieval church. Both of these new religions sanctified a special earthly calling for the true believer. The nature and extent of the connection—if any—between a developing capitalism and Protestant Christianity has been furiously debated since the appearance of Max Weber's *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (originally published in German in 1904-05). R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1929), Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (1931), and Benjamin N. Nelson, *The Idea of Usury* (1949) are significant works. A recent lively discussion of the general question is Robert L. Heilbroner, *The Quest for Wealth* (1956) and the sanest, best supported view of the relation of Quaker principles to the behavior of the Quaker merchants is Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House* (1948), especially Chapter III and pp. 248-50, 265-66. This essay, however, hopes only to indicate that, despite the currency of warnings against the pitfalls in his occupation, a conscientious Quaker merchant might even be sought after for his ability to give moral guidance.

Such a merchant was Isaac Hicks (1767-1820), a cousin and contemporary of Elias Hicks. Emigrating from the rural Quaker community in Westbury, Long Island, in 1789, Hicks soon rose to prominence in New York's mercantile world. A faithful attender of meetings, Hicks may have felt that the fourth and tenth Queries were read for the special benefit of his vocation—indeed, he had his own well-thumbed copy of Rigge.[7] If, however, the official position of the Society with its abundant admonitions seemed to regard his career as a merchant with suspicion, Hicks also knew from personal experience that a good number of faithful Quakers, quite undisturbed about the alleged dangers of his calling, regarded him with unqualified approval as a proper influence upon the youth under his care, a defender of the faith. Furthermore, there was no hint in the correspondence to Hicks that these Quakers were putting vocational objectives above moral considerations. All the emphasis was the other way around.

One reason for parental confidence was that Isaac Hicks ran a Quaker house. All of his partners and senior clerks were members of the Society of Friends, and, to the extent that evidence is available, so were all lesser employees. Boys entrusted to Hicks, though surrounded by a cosmopolitan city, did not work in the constant presence of persons of dubious morality or of strange religion. Of course, the master's preference for employees with Quaker upbringing might have rested solely upon the calculation that they were, more than outsiders, predisposed to honesty and industry. No matter what Hicks's real motives were, the result of his practice meant that anxious parents saw in his business establishment a guarded environment. Here, under the aegis of the former Westbury Quaker, was a tiny island which approximated those relatively homogeneous neighborhoods of Friends which had

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[7] Hicks also had a copy of David Hall, *An Epistle of Love and Caution to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends in Great Britain or Elsewhere* (London, 1750). Hall offered the same kind of warning that "Divers at their first embarking In Trade and Business, have seem'd to be pretty hopeful; but inconsiderately putting themselves forth into more Articles and Branches of Trade, than their Stock and Capacity were able to support and manage, whereby great Reproach has been brought upon our Society" (p. 23).

been best able to withstand eighteenth-century onslaughts of rationalism or revivalism.

Hicks set an example for his employees by running his business in strict conformity with Quaker business principles. Cautious and punctual, he could be regarded by no one as needlessly endangering capital entrusted to him or as slack in meeting his obligations. To guide himself in these matters Hicks kept records which, for this period, were very full and complete. As a commission merchant Hicks treated his clients' interests with rigidly fair consideration. If his compliance with the meeting's ban against dealing in spirituous liquors was not instantaneous, he *did* give up this perfectly conventional trade at a time when many very prominent Friends still continued in it. In short, Hicks's business policies created for him a reputation with which no conscientious Quaker could find fault.

The manner in which interested Friends inquired about openings reveals clearly that Hicks's personal influence was highly regarded. When Abraham Barker, the older brother and guardian of Jacob Barker, wrote Hicks in 1797, he seemed much more interested in the kind of moral tutelage his brother might receive from Hicks than in any routine vocational training. I am "sensible of the corrupting customs that generally prevail among the youth at Nantucket that renders it a very improper place for the education of a fatherless child under the tuition of . . . an affectionate indulgent mother during so important a period of his life," the older Barker wrote Hicks, "and at an age they are but too apt to suppose their knowledge superior to an aged woman's and make choice thereof, but, alas, many find their error too late." Abraham furthermore opposed Jacob's inclination to leave his school in New Bedford for the purpose of "returning to Nantucket . . . as he will be put to some mechanical trade, serve a year or two, and then he must go to sea; almost a universal practice with the rising class of that island[;] where the life of a sailor will lead him is uncertain but the risk is too great of its not being a pious religious one."

After dwelling at length upon his brother's moral and religious dilemma, Abraham Barker, in listing Jacob's commercial talents, seems perfunctory. He "writes a pretty good hand, taking into view

the opportunity afforded him for acquiring it. In arithmetic, I think there are but few that has the use of figures more at command. From the character he bears from those with whom he has boarded, with my own knowledge of his disposition, I think I may say he possesses a very good one as also a healthy constitution." Barker, himself a partner in the New Bedford Quaker firm of William Rotch, Jr., then made his actual request in terms which, for a merchant, show a notable lack of concern for material success. "From such melancholy truths thou will readily suppose my solicitude for the welfare and happiness of a younger brother (whose breast, I hope, is and ever will remain a stranger to vices) is very great. Not knowing how thou might be supplied with lads or assistants induces me to make enquiry for a place for him under *thy tutelary protection* and tuition until he is of age" [italics mine].

Having digressed long enough to inquire briefly of an actual job and to mention Jacob's fitness for it, Abraham Barker returned to the concern closest to his heart. He wanted double reassurance that Isaac Hicks would "prohibit his [Jacob's] going out evenings particularly, as well as . . . refrain him from any bad practices which his residence there [New York] may expose him to, and encourage him in virtue and piety."[8]

Instructions like Barker's are matched if not outdone by those from Jonathan Jenkins, a Nantucket Quaker. Exhibiting extreme fatherly timidity about his island boy's ability to exist in the city, Jenkins all but told Hicks his son's mid-morning nap time.[9] Throughout, a very genuine concern for his son's moral protection was evident. "It is a great thing with me to put him from under my care and oversight . . . believing . . . that thou'll accept the guardianship of my son I rest assured." Jenkins further implored Hicks to see, "that nothing will be wanting on thy part to educate him in the line of thy business *and afford him such other advice and instruction which . . . will render him reputable among friends* and a worthy and reputable citizen"[10] [italics mine].

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[8] Abraham Barker to Isaac Hicks, April 4, 1797, Hicks Papers. This collection is in the New York Historical Society.

[9] "Please to pay some little attention to my son as he is a boy and may be careless and take cold." Jonathan Jenkins to Isaac Hicks, April 13, 1797, Hicks Papers.

[10] February 13, 1799, Hicks Papers.

Both Jenkins and Barker felt that they had found in Hicks a man who would understand their exhortations and be a careful chaperon. Both men worried about the Sabbath-breaking of New York youths, who considered it "fashionable . . . to range the streets and wharves when they might be more profitably employed." To protect his son Jenkins wrote Hicks: "I have but one thing to observe to thee that he [Sylvannus Jenkins] has ever been a stranger to strowling the streets or wharves on First Days and nights or idling his time on that day about home, but . . . [has] ever attended the Meeting and [spent] the remainder of the day in perusing the *Bible* or some other book of useful instruction."[11]

The basis upon which the venerable William Rotch of Nantucket and New Bedford urged Isaac Hicks to accept the employment of George Otis continues the pattern of the other requests. Again the hope was expressed of finding under Hicks's care a continuation of a protected, almost familial, Quaker environment. Rotch wasted no time burdening Hicks with nonessential information about any commercial talent Otis might have, but discussed at some length the religious considerations. "George Otis being bound for New York," Rotch began, "to transact some business for a person in Boston where he served his apprenticeship, but the degradation of that place makes him desirous to settle in New York . . . although the same disagreeable manner of living attends your city with some." Rotch hoped that the young man might become a part of Hicks's establishment, especially since "there [is] a valuable Society to be found among friends, which is not in Boston." If Hicks was not moved to pity by the plight of someone unfortunate enough to have to live in Boston, Rotch added the following noncommercial appeal in his letter to the New Yorker. George Otis "is a brother to D. E. Otis of Saratoga, well known to friends that travel that way, being a house of entertainment to such. There has been a remarkable convincement in his father's family."[12]

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[11] March 4, 1799, Hicks Papers.

[12] William Rotch to Isaac Hicks, August 27, 1800, Hicks Papers. It is interesting to note that Hicks did hire Otis despite the lack of routine recommendations. Otis became one of Hicks's most valuable and trusted clerks. Later on, Otis returned to Boston and formed a commission house in partnership with his cousin Joseph Otis.

Isaac Hicks made no formal claim that he exerted a pressure on his employees in the direction of piety, nor did any parent or guardian categorically state that Hicks indoctrinated his subordinates with religious precepts as well as business wisdom. However, the whole tenor of the letters by Abraham Barker, Jonathan Jenkins, and William Rotch assumes that Hicks did carry a religious influence into his employer-employee relationship, an influence which they, as concerned Friends, thoroughly approved.

A final incident has suggestive force. Edward C. Hussey, after leaving Isaac Hicks's employment, wrote from Nantucket: "I must request thee to get my certificate and forward it on as the overseers tell me it is necessary that it be laid before the Meeting in order that they might answer the queries."[13] Hezekiah B. Gardner, another apprentice, wrote a similar request to facilitate the transfer of his membership to the Nantucket meeting.[14] The point is that these men thought it perfectly proper to request their former master in a business house to take care of a personal religious matter for them. It is doubtful that Hicks would have come under this obligation if his relations with his former employees had not included, along with formal business training, strict religious tutelage.

Isaac Hicks, then, presents an example of a merchant respected by members of his religious community and entrusted with the moral training of its youth. Very probably other Quaker merchants of this time, far from being suspect, were equally respected. Despite the admonitions and cautions against those engaged in commerce and trade, many business men must have had personal experiences similar to Hicks's and found themselves accepted with confidence by parents anxious to give their sons a guarded upbringing.

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[13] Edward C. Hussey to Isaac Hicks, November 27, 1804, Hicks Papers.

[14] Hezekiah B. Gardner to Isaac Hicks, November 30, 1804, Hicks Papers.

JAMES M. HAWORTH, QUAKER INDIAN AGENT

By BURRITT M. HIATT*

On March 31, 1873, James M. Haworth was appointed agent to the Kiowa and Comanche Indian tribes. His appointment by the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs had been unsolicited and came as a surprise to him, since he had little experience with Indians and little information about agency affairs. But he remembered that in 1864 a band of unarmed Indians had been camped on a spot selected for them by the commandant of an army post nearby. In the night the whole camp of Indians was massacred. This incident had caused a war that resulted in the deaths of hundreds of frontier people. James M. Haworth was resolved that such incidents should not be repeated if he could help it.

James M. Haworth and his wife Elizabeth Smith Haworth were living in the small town of Olathe in eastern Kansas in 1873. They planned to travel west as far as the railroad ran, and then take a stagecoach to Fort Sill in Indian Territory. Their train stopped at Caddo, the eastern terminus of the Fort Sill stage line. The trip from there took four days in a canvas-topped buckboard, in which they sat with their knees drawn up because the floor of the conveyance was piled high with sacks of mail. The road was full of chuck holes and there were many detours to avoid bogs. At night they stayed in wayside cabins built of logs chinked with mud. Supper was served under a smoking coal oil lamp and consisted of pale eggs, smoked ham, and corn bread.

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* Burritt M. Hiatt, formerly a member of the faculty of Wilmington College, lives in Wilmington, Ohio. His account of the experiences of James M. Haworth as an Indian agent is based largely on unpublished letters in private hands. It provides a corrective to certain misrepresentations of Agent Haworth found in Wilbur S. Nye's *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1937). Further references to James M. Haworth's work among the Indians will be found in Lawrie Tatum, *Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant* (Philadelphia, 1899) and in Thomas C. Battey, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians* (Boston, 1875).

On the fourth evening they reached the ford over Cache Creek, a few hundred yards east of the post. They heard the dull boom of the sunset gun and were soon on the plateau of Fort Sill and got out at the hotel. It was no better than the cabins they had been in on the journey, for it was infested with fleas and bedbugs.

Daylight showed James Haworth and his wife a row of Indian tepees within a few yards of the hotel door. Squaws were wandering around wrapped in colorful blankets, their long braided locks wound with scarlet yarn and their ears hung with ornaments. The grounds swarmed with dogs.

Fort Sill had nothing of the conventional fortress about it. There was no moat, no parapet, no trench bristling with cannon, and no stockade. There were only some one-story barracks built of local stone, some cavalry stables and a hospital, a traders' store, and the commandant's residence. They soon met the personnel of the fort. The commandant was Lieutenant-Colonel John W. Davidson of the Tenth Cavalry, who had just been appointed to the office. They feared that they would not get along with him very well because they were to inaugurate a new policy for the Indian agencies. They also met the adjutant, who took charge of all administrative details, and the quartermaster, who had charge of the warehouse with its store of uniforms, groceries, and supplies. The post surgeon, they found, was worried about the sanitary conditions, because of the high frequency of malaria and dysentery; the water system of the post was suspected; the number of outdoor privies and the accumulations of horse-manure were obviously detrimental to the sanitation, and there was no icehouse. Another member of the personnel, a man of considerable charm, was the post trader, who acted as banker, postmaster, and merchant. (James Haworth did not know until later that post tradership had been sold to the highest bidders by Secretary of War Belknap.) The soldiers at Fort Sill were mainly colored troops from regiments organized during the Civil War.

James Haworth and his wife immediately felt the tension at the Fort and decided to make their home a few miles south of it, where the Indian commissary was located. This had been the residence of the previous Quaker agent, Lawrie Tatum, who had begun his work in 1869, but had resigned on March 31, 1873 after

having troubles with the Indians, the soldiers, and the camp followers. The commissary building was situated on Cache Creek. About a mile and a quarter farther down the creek were the schoolhouse, the bakery, the blacksmith shop, and the doctor's office. The agent's residence was in the center of three groups of buildings. These buildings were held up by a complicated system of props, but in spite of that, one of them leaned more than a foot out of plumb. The roofs were leaky, and the sides were sawed from local cottonwood which had shrunk and warped so that the seasonal storms called northers could drive sleet and snow right into the buildings. But one of the greatest disadvantages was that to the south and east of the residences were two swamps which were breeding-places for mosquitoes. The Indians, who were under orders to camp on Cache Creek below the fort, did not like the location because sickness was so much more prevalent when they stayed there.

This was the situation into which James M. Haworth came in 1873. A review of President Grant's new Indian policy may help clarify his predicament.

The building of the Pacific Railroad in 1865 and the constant pressure of white men upon the Indian hunting grounds made it clear that the military policy against the Indians needed a change. It was estimated that the two wars against the Sioux tribes ending in 1866 and the two wars against the Cheyenne tribe ending in 1867 had cost upwards of a million dollars for every Indian killed. In the year 1867 even General W. T. Sherman had despaired of subduing the Indians by military force and had declared that fifty Indians could checkmate three thousand soldiers.

In 1867 some prominent officials connected with the government had expressed the wish that the Friends might take some care of the Indians, as they had had experience for some years in missions to the tribes. On September 4, 1867, the *Weekly Chronicle* of Washington, D. C. said: "We have often thought that if the Society of Friends who successfully colonized and civilized the Senecas in western New York and managed their affairs with such judgment and knowledge, could be induced to take charge of the colonizing in the Indian Territory and instruct the Indians, they might prepare them for the inevitable future."

On January 25th, 1869, there was held the first conference on this subject between a committee of Friends and President Grant, who had been elected but had not yet taken office. The Friends were impressed by the cordial and sympathetic attitude with which the President-elect, although he was a military man, looked toward a more peaceful and humane policy in dealing with the Indians. The formal announcement of Grant's peace policy came a month later on February 15, 1869. It took the form of a letter from General E. S. Parker, a military aide to General Grant, and it asked the Society of Friends to send him a list of names of persons whom the Society could endorse as suitable for Indian agents. In the next year, 1870, President Grant extended an invitation to other Protestant denominations and the Roman Catholic Church to submit names.

Enoch Hoag, an Iowa Friend who had been a pioneer in Indian concerns, was appointed by President Grant as Superintendent of the Central Superintendency, which included Kansas and Indian Territory. One of the first and most important services of the Friends who became Indian agents was to quiet some of the tribes which had recently been on the warpath. The Friends held conferences with the more restless tribes in order to ask them to restrain their lawless members, especially the young men, who seemed bent on continuing a career of raiding. The more routine duties of the Friends as agents were to distribute rations, to instruct the Indians in agriculture, and to oversee the establishment of schools. When the Friends took charge of the Central Superintendency there were only four schools in operation among the Indian tribes of that region. From 1869 to 1879 the enrollment of Indian children in schools increased from 150 to 1000. The new agents were also to try to establish some kind of justice before the law so that disputes could be settled by less arbitrary methods than had been used formerly.

Both President Grant and the Secretary of the Interior hoped that Congress would establish a United States court in the Indian Territory so that civil law could be properly administered there and enforced by an adequate police force. In the punishment of lawless white men within the boundaries of the Indian agencies there was an unavoidable complication with the military. After the Civil

War many men drifted to the West, and, in the case of the agency around Fort Sill, the nearest Federal court was in Fort Smith, Arkansas. To present a case of injustice to that court would require many days of travel from the Indian reservation. No law existed to punish a crime committed by an Indian agent against an Indian.

In asking the Quakers to supply agents, President Grant said that "he was familiar with the past management of Indian affairs, and sensible of the injustice that had been done them and desired to remedy the abuses of the Indian System." The only way, in the past, in which the Indian agents could enforce civil law, was to call upon the military arm of the government, not the judicial. But under President Grant's "peace policy" the force of arms was to be used only when civil enforcement of the law could not keep order. It is evident that the military officers did not grasp the breadth of the instructions given to the non-military Indian agents: "to keep constantly before the minds of the Indians the pacific intentions of the Government and to obtain their confidence by acts of kindness and honesty and just dealings with them, thereby securing that peace which it is the wish of all good citizens to establish and maintain."

Agent Haworth found the army post as much a provocation as it was a protection. Fort Sill maintained an awkward co-operation, but the establishment, as an influence, was far from satisfactory. The Agent requested the commander at the fort not to sell whiskey to white transients and loafers who would become intoxicated and go out looking for trouble among the Indians. "Among the many difficulties of the country on the frontier," wrote Agent Haworth on August 30, 1873, "the peddling of whiskey by unprincipled men is one of the greatest. By special police I have arrested some whiskey parties and dumped on the ground some barrels of very poor Texas whiskey." The profits of selling whiskey were so high that it was difficult to deter resourceful and dangerous men from coming into the Indian reservation with liquor. A favorite entrance of the bootleggers was Wrattan Creek, which became known as Whiskey Creek. A few nights before payday, the bootleggers would camp in the wooded bottoms of Whiskey Creek. They usually had with them a wagonload of prostitutes. On payday

they drove a line of stakes with a bit of white cloth tied to each one, and their customers could follow this to the place of business.

Six months after James M. Haworth took over the Indian Agency, he wrote his first annual report. "When I took charge", he wrote, "I told the Indians in council that I had come among them as their friend and desired us to live together as friends. As a proof of my confidence in them I had soldiers whom I found on duty, removed, and relied upon the Indians to conduct themselves in a peaceable and friendly manner. I told them that with their help we could make this a peaceable country to live in. I desired them to abstain from raiding and stealing. The chiefs promised me assistance. They said that if their young men would not listen to them, but ran off and stole horses, the chiefs would bring in to me all the horses they brought back and restore them to their owners.

"A short time after," he continued, "I told them that I had heard of some of their young men who had been in Texas and brought back a number of horses. Within two weeks from the time I spoke to them, fifty-two head of horses and mules were delivered to me as having been stolen from Texas since I came in charge as agent. I did not make any threat of stopping rations or anything of that kind. I simply reminded them of their promises and appealed to their better natures."

White men from Texas often came up to steal horses from the Indians. Fort Sill was so near the Texas border that the thieves could quickly get beyond the agent's jurisdiction. It was difficult to get witnesses to go to Fort Smith, Arkansas, because the expense of the journey was much greater than the fees. "Consequently", Haworth reported, "many people who have information about these thefts do not say anything about it in fear of having to go to Fort Smith as witnesses."

Thomas C. Battey, teacher in the Kiowa camp, wrote a description of the scene at the agency, after the soldiers were sent away: "Agent Haworth removed the guard from about the agency buildings soon after his arrival. There are several hundred Indians here now to get their rations. They are more quiet than I have ever seen them on a day for issuing rations. Only the chiefs are in the commissary and there are no Indians wan-

dering and peeking through the house, climbing fences into the yard, and trying this door and that to get in. As I look out on this quiet and orderly scene I see an old Indian riding slowly round and round the buildings. He is keeping an eye on the young men to hold them in check. This instead of having a guard of soldiers here. The Indians have established a guard of their own to keep order."

Agent Haworth's decision to dismiss the military guard was not the result of an impractical sentiment. He believed that the small guard would not be of much value if the Indian host wanted to do violence. As a consequence, the Indians felt responsible for the stores of rations. A delegation of the Kiowas and Apaches of the reservation called upon Agent Haworth to make a request. They had heard a rumor that Arapahoe and Cheyenne raiding parties might come to rob the commissary, and they were uneasy about the store of rations there. They asked that watchmen be posted about the building at night. This confidential co-operation of the local Indians in the protection of their supplies was much more effective than the soldiers could give. Agent Haworth consented to the Indians' request for a night guard around the commissary, but he had in mind protection from the skulking white men, who were the more dangerous thieves.

James Haworth inherited some troubles not of his making. A delegation of Kiowa Indians had gone to Washington to ask that their chiefs, Satanta and Big Tree, who were in prison in Texas, condemned for murder, be released to them. The Government agreed to liberate the two chiefs, and also some Indian women and children who were prisoners, if the Kiowas would restore some stolen stock before the following March. The Kiowas kept their part of the bargain, but the Government failed to do so. The reason was that Texas had in the meantime become incensed over the murder of General Canby by some Modoc Indians. The Kiowas were not responsible for this murder, but Governor Davis of Texas refused to comply with the conditions that the United States Government had made. The Government in Washington decided that in the circumstances it was impossible to release the Kiowa chiefs, as had been promised.

As summer came on and Indians began to gather at Fort Sill, anxiously awaiting the release of their chiefs, the question under discussion among them was whether or not the tribes should go to war if Satanta and Big Tree were not released. A messenger, Thomas Battey, was sent with a message to the tribes and they held him as a hostage for three weeks. The mental and nervous strain of this experience made him an invalid. The new commander of Fort Sill took this occasion to conduct a practice march over the terrain.

On September 4, 1873, the Indian chiefs, Satanta and Big Tree, were brought quietly from a prison in Texas to the guardhouse at Fort Sill.

The importance of the conference which followed can be judged by the fact that Governor Davis of Texas arrived at Fort Sill on October 3rd, the United State Commissioner of Indian Affairs, E. D. Smith, came from Washington, D.C., and Enoch Hoag, Superintendent of the Plains tribes also came. The Indians objected to having the council meeting on the grounds of Fort Sill; Governor Davis was reluctant to confer with the Indians away from the shelter of the fort. Finally, the council was held on the adjoining parade grounds. In the stables the horses of the troops were saddled, and the colored cavalrymen were ready for any disturbance.

Governor Davis enumerated harsh conditions which must be fulfilled before he would release the prisoners. James Haworth hastened to disclaim any responsibility for the hard terms of the governor. Then the Indians of different tribes spoke. Governor Davis listened attentively, but did not recede from the terms he had announced.

The council adjourned, and Agent Haworth spent the following day trying to persuade Governor Davis to change his conditions. The Indians brooded in their camp. Even Chief Kicking Bird was discouraged. The tribes held a secret meeting at night, and plotted to release the imprisoned chiefs by force. Everything was set for a violent denouement, but at the beginning of the next council Governor Davis in a short speech surprised everyone—except possibly Agent Haworth—by turning the chiefs over to their people.

The difficulties of dealing with the Indian and the military were not the only serious problems of the agent. There was always the shortage of supplies to maintain the Indians' rations. The distance from the railroads was great and the teamsters were shiftless. There was no tradition of punctuality or fidelity in deliveries. Sometimes James Haworth had nothing to issue to the Indians, which was a great disappointment to him. One must remember that he had an area of 3,550,000 acres under his jurisdiction. He had to wield authority like a patriarch over the tribes, sit in judgment on disputes, bring offenders to trial, and keep everything under control. His authority was weakened by the uncertainty over the supply of provisions.

On the issue days, which were usually semi-monthly, the Indians came in multitudes for their rations. The squaws, who came in force, carried their babies in little cradles which they leaned up against the walls of the buildings. When the supplies failed, owing to Government delinquency, the Indians were left very hungry and sometimes walked into the cook's apartment to look for food.

Elizabeth Haworth supported her husband in entering into fellowship with the tribesmen. One dangerous Indian named White Horse once planned to kidnap James Haworth in his office. Mrs. Haworth met him trustfully and took him into the yard to show him the shrubbery and explain the growth of the flowers; she gave him a bouquet which he took away with every sign of respect and kindness.

One of the minor irritations was that a party of white surveyors was sent by the Government to measure the reservation. These men with quadrants and chains naturally gave the Indians the impression that their land was being laid out in sections for sale to the white men.

Perhaps the main accomplishment of James Haworth as agent was to gain the complete confidence of the Kiowa chief Kicking Bird. In 1873, it had been Kicking Bird who had kept the tribe from going to war when the Texas Governor refused to release the two Kiowa chiefs, in accordance with the Federal Government's promise. When a major conspiracy among the Southern Plains Indians was formed in 1874, he found himself

in a difficult position. The Indians of his own Kiowa tribe were suffering from white aggression and ruthless theft of their horses and cattle. They were pushing Kicking Bird into war, and he was cut to the quick by their distrust of his motives. Also he had begun to doubt the good faith of the white Government. In this crisis he set himself to winning the different bands of the Kiowas to a policy of peace. He was so successful that two-thirds of the Kiowa tribe refused to follow their chief, Lone Wolf, to war.

When the teacher, Thomas Battey came to the reservation, Kicking Bird and his wife brought their only remaining child, a daughter, to him. They asked him to teach her and to be a father to her. Since other Indian children were hesitating to come to the school, and since Kicking Bird was reluctant to leave his daughter alone, he invited Thomas Battey to his camp and offered him hospitality and protection. This was the beginning of the confidence of the Indians in the teacher, and it laid the foundation for the acceptance of education among the Kiowas.

There was a Kiowa chief named Big Bow, an intractable savage, who had not been present when the tribe signed an agreement at Medicine Lodge to go on the reservation. He led a band of Indians who went on the Texas raid in which seven teamsters had been murdered, and he had been involved in other atrocities. It was the plan of Kicking Bird to induce Big Bow to come in and dicker for the surrender of his band. The reason for this was that Big Bow knew where all the hostile Indians were; he knew all the trails and water holes and where to find the scattered bands. The commander at the fort promised Big Bow that he would be exempt from punishment if he brought his band to the fort. The plan of Kicking Bird worked to perfection, except that it caused a temporary strain on the strong attachment between him and Agent Haworth. The Agent had taken Big Bow by the hand and given him prominence during the negotiations and public council. Haworth felt that this would have a reformatory influence on the defiant fragments of the tribe, but Kicking Bird felt that the Agent had rejected him. He was downcast by the idea that he was under suspicion. But when he finally grasped the Agent's motive and realized that

he had not lost his confidence, he was delighted and gave his hand again to the white man with a firmer and happier grasp than before. There is not a doubt that Kicking Bird prevented the slaughter of many innocent persons and saved the government many thousands of dollars.

After the outbreak of 1874, which Kicking Bird had tried hard to prevent, he had the responsibility, as chief, of bringing in the remaining bands of hostile Indians and selecting the prisoners to be banished to Florida. On the morning when the prisoners, in chains, were loaded in wagons, for their departure, Kicking Bird said to them: "Brothers, the time has come to say goodby. I am sorry for you. But because of your stubbornness I have failed to keep you out of trouble. You have to be punished by the government. Take your medicine. It will not be for long. I love you and will work for your release. I have done my best to keep you in the right road and I hope the time will come soon when you will return to us happy, at peace, and of a different mind."

When he had finished, one of the prisoners said: "Kicking Bird, you remain free, a big man with the whites. But you will not live long. I will see to that!" Kicking Bird made no reply. The next morning at breakfast, shortly after a Mexican servant had served him coffee, the chief was stricken with a sudden and mysterious illness. Agent Haworth was summoned. A call went out for the agency doctor. It was no use. Kicking Bird seemed to realize that his time had come. He gave his fine gray horse to James M. Haworth. He said to him: "I have taken the white man's road and I am not sorry for it. Tell my people to keep in the good path. I am dying holding the white man's hand."

"His body was given in my charge by his family, and I gave it the rite of Christian burial, he being the first Kiowa chief ever to be buried that way by the request of his friends."

The record of the post surveyor says: "Kicking Bird, one of the principal chiefs of the Kiowas, died suddenly May 4, supposed to have been poisoned through jealousy or anger of some of his tribe. Kicking Bird was far above any of his nation, or of the Comanches even, in general intelligence, of fine phy-

sique, and had a prepossessing countenance." He was forty years old, in the prime of life.

James M. Haworth says this about him in his annual report to the Government: "Though a wild and untutored savage, as he was regarded in civilized life, he was a man of fine native sense, and thoroughly educated in the learning and history of his own people. A number of years ago he abandoned the raiding habits of his people, and determined to make a reputation for himself, not in bad acts, but in elevating his people and leading them from the bad road to a knowledge of the white man's way. Though yet a young man, he had succeeded in attaining the position of head chief of his nation and when the question of joining with the other tribes on the warpath or coming into the agency was up before the council of his nation, his influence was exerted on the side of peace and almost nine hundred of the eleven hundred Kiowas sided with him. Many others were anxious to join him soon afterward. He counseled his people to remain at peace with everybody and not throw away what their friends were trying to do for them.

The report of James M. Haworth for the year 1876 shows that he had made progress in the educational, industrial, and agricultural fields during the three years that he had been agent. There was a boarding school of seventy pupils, none of whom had ever been in school before, except three half-breeds. All could now read, some moderately well. All had industrial training. There were 550 acres of farm land under cultivation, and some of the Indians were raising sheep and cattle.

Although there was no Federal law in existence for the punishment of any crime committed by an Indian agent against an Indian, yet the tribes began to establish law. One of their young men killed his wife. The Indians arrested the murderer. On the advice of Agent Haworth, instead of killing him, as at first proposed, they put him in the guardhouse. His friends paid a number of ponies to the friends of the dead wife, and the man was released. On another occasion, the Indians arrested two of their young men for stealing from the whites and turned them over for imprisonment.

With the end of President Grant's administration, the mili-

tary pressure against the Quaker administration of the Indian agencies began to be effective, and a number of Quaker agents were dismissed without notice. One of the agents, Levi Woodward, of the Sac and Fox reservation, declined to accept a man sent to him as an employee because he believed his employment would be injurious to the agency. Another agent, H. W. Jones, of the Quapan reservation, dismissed an employee for gross and notorious immorality, and lost his agency. There had been a written agreement with the President about the control of employees by the agent, but this was disregarded. On the 20th of May, 1879, the Quakers resigned the charge committed to them over the Indian agencies.

From the beginning of his term as agent on July 1, 1873, James Haworth had struggled with a situation which had been on the verge of war. There had also been the additional strain of his relations with the military authorities. The great majority of the white people at the Fort were, of course, opposed to his policy, and they promoted discord by telling the Indians that the agent was secretly their enemy. All this time James Haworth had been under the care of a physician. Somehow, amid all his perils and perplexities, his invalidism seemed to increase his influence over the Indians, many of whom became convinced that his intentions were peaceful.

In addition to his illness the inner life of James Haworth was troubled by other circumstances. For Christmas and New Year of the year 1873, after he had been at the agency six months, he and his wife were to visit their son near Kansas City. They had received no mail or telegrams from him for a long time, because the weather had been too severe for the mail to get through. The telegraph wires ended at Wichita, Kansas, two hundred miles away. Therefore the first package that was delivered was a large one; on top was a telegram from their daughter, saying that their son was ill with spinal meningitis. James and his wife immediately set out in the face of a severe north wind and endured the exposure until they reached the railroad at Wichita. In the station there they met an acquaintance, who expressed sympathy but gave them no information, and the anxious couple was afraid to ask about the situation. When they got to

Kansas City, they learned that their son, James Entricon Haworth, had died on the last day of 1873, after a brief illness. He was nineteen years of age and an only son, who had been an intimate companion of his father.

Back again on the reservation, James Haworth and his wife continued their efforts to control the intractable elements in the tribes. The wife of an Indian named Dangerous Eagle had died in their absence. The Indian custom was for the husband to be stoical and for nothing to be said about his departed wife. But Haworth disregarded this custom. He told Dangerous Eagle that he knew the impropriety that might appear in his talk, but that the white man's way was to say something about his grief. He told him briefly about the death of his son and expressed sympathy to Dangerous Eagle in his bereavement. This was a breach of Indian etiquette, but the man afterward became a supporter of the school for the children of his people and was of great value in the education of the tribe.

For the remainder of the year there were many administrative difficulties and complications. The agent's over-taxed strength began to ebb. His fingers lost their natural touch. His tongue began to thicken and he had difficulty in swallowing food. In November 1876, he desired to vote in the Presidential election and was taken in a wagon to Wichita—a twenty-four hour journey. He caught a train for Kansas City and was borne to the polls. He desired to resign under the conviction that he would never be able to resume the work. But the Government preferred to grant him a leave of absence, which was extended repeatedly. His resignation as agent was finally accepted but he was continued in a supervisory capacity over many phases of the Indian work until his death on March 12, 1885, at the age of fifty-three.

WILLIAM ALLEN, NEGRO EVANGELIST OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

By Fred L. Ryon *

William Allen, a Negro minister and evangelist of the Society of Friends, was well known and highly appreciated by the members of Indiana, Ohio, New York, and Canada Yearly Meetings. He was principally a Christian evangelist. Ministers of Ohio Yearly Meeting said William Allen was a natural-born sermonizer. No financial arrangements were ever mentioned when he served a meeting, although he never suffered lack of food, raiment, shelter, or loving Christian care. He looked to God for his remuneration, and God amply provided.

William Allen was born in the state of Tennessee. His mother was a fullblooded Negro slave; his father a white man of Irish extraction, a planter and slaveowner. William was a slave to his own father, a chattel rather than a son. He probably owed much of his natural wit and fluency of language to his father.

A man of great physical power, William Allen weighed at least two hundred fifty pounds and measured a full six feet in height, even in his eighties. For this reason he would have been an exceedingly valuable slave, and could have been sold for a large sum of money had his "master" chosen to dispose of him. His father, in his last will and testament, bequeathed him his personal freedom when he should reach his 21st birthday. Thus it appears that his father was not utterly void of conscience: he would not allow his own flesh and blood, regardless of color, to be enslaved as a soulless beast of the field. William always testified that he was well treated as a slave.

He was evidently allowed to see little of his mother. He saw her placed on the block and sold down the river. It is quite

* Fred L. Ryon, who is now ninety-nine years old, lives in Spokane, Washington. He has held Quaker pastorates at Clintondale, New York, Pelham, Ontario, and West Branch, Iowa. He writes of William Allen on the basis of a personal acquaintance seventy-five years ago. Professor T. Canby Jones of Wilmington College assisted him in preparing this article for publication.

understandable that his father would wish to be rid of this accuser of his conscience.

Other slaves were less fortunate. William often told of the cruelties practiced on other slaves by less kindly disposed owners. Women slaveowners, he said, were more cruel than men. On one occasion, the slaves from several neighboring estates were hauling dirt to form a dam across a stream, driving out into the deep water and dumping their load. One slave, owned by a woman, when in the middle of the stream, dived to the bottom and caught firm hold of the spokes of the wagon wheel and held on until dead. His owner was summoned. When she arrived, she looked at the dead body and said, "I don't care about the loss of the nigger, if I could only have him alive to give him one more good thrashing." Sometimes, William said, the poor slaves were bound to a post, their backs bared, and flogged until lacerated and bleeding; then they were treated with a solution of salt water. While many slaves were well cared for and properly nourished, others were underfed. The slaves, according to William, had a story that in Indiana pigs already roasted and with knives sticking in their backs were running wild through the woodlands, squealing and crying, "Eat me, eat me." While this seems ridiculous to enlightened people, it may easily have been the dream of hungry slaves.

Upon receiving his freedom, William Allen promptly sought asylum in that "Promised Land" of Indiana. A booklet on the life of William Allen by Jesse M. Walton of Ontario, Canada, states that "Attempts were made by his [father's] heirs to retain him in bondage by legal sharp practice."[1] Of this fact I have no knowledge, although it seems to me probable. From the same source I also learn that for a time William was engaged as a teamster, transporting escaped slaves at night by the "Underground Railway" from the land of bondage to Canada.

In Indiana, William Allen settled in the vicinity of what is now known as Blue River Meeting. He was not, however, among Friends, but among the Wesleyan Methodists, who opposed slavery both in theory and practice. Soon the religious mind of William

[1] *From the Auction Block of Slavery to the Rostrum of Quaker Ministry: The Life of William Allen, the Negro Missionary Preacher of the Society of Friends* (Aurora, Ontario, [1938], p. 3.)

opened wide for the Christ to enter. William proved an apt scholar in the school of Christ, and was soon received into full church membership. His devotion, his remarkable gift of language, natural oratory, and clarity of thought were soon recognized and he was ordained a minister. In the meantime, he became interested in accumulating earthly possessions. In this too he proved his ability. He rented fields, purchased a valuable team of horses, and planted crops. His field of wheat promised abundant harvest when the time of reaping should draw near. Worldly prosperity was alluring. He wished first to secure enough of this world's goods to provide for his declining years. It was not a refusal to preach the gospel, but a wish to wait for that more convenient time. But God needed then and there those rich gifts which were lying dormant. "The fields were white unto the harvest."

At this time adverse circumstances began to appear coming thick and fast. His valuable team of horses died. His wheat field, which had given such promise, was blasted and worthless, save for the straw, which he gave to a neighbor for the cutting. Meanwhile his neighbor's field of wheat developed perfectly. To add to the calamity, his sweetheart, to whom he was engaged, sickened and died. The greatness of his love for her can only be measured by his lifetime devotion to her memory. He met no other who could fill her place in his affections.

All this misfortune did not turn him away from his God. On the contrary it helped him understand that God was speaking and calling him to a far greater service. William Allen then fully surrendered his life to God to preach the everlasting gospel.

As an ordained minister of the Wesleyan Methodist church, he was called upon to serve the Lord's Supper. He said that often there were those who had been addicts to drink who would cling to the cup, as he held it to their lips, loath to release it. This troubled William. To him it seemed like encouraging his brothers in sin. So heavily weighed this matter upon his mind that he took the concern to his presiding Elder. After listening to William's statement, his Elder said, "You are a Quaker." To William this was pure Greek. "What are Quakers?" he asked. Then he was kindly told that they were a religious sect that did not practice the outward ordinances, but considered the sacraments to be real

though spiritual experiences. He was directed to the Quaker meeting nearby, possibly the meeting now known as Blue River. This proved mutually satisfactory, for he was received into membership and recorded a minister, according to the custom of Friends.

As a slave William had not been allowed to learn to read or write. If caught trying to learn, he had been punished. He was determined, however, and had watched the school children as they passed to and from school with their textbooks under their arms. On one of these occasions, a child lost a leaf from her reader. The wind whisked it away to where William was standing. He noted the place of its landing, and when the children were out of sight, looking all about him, he picked up the fallen leaf and hid it safely about his person. This leaf became his textbook and, in fact, his library. Strange though it may seem, from this solitary leaf he learned to read his Bible. As he met a child on the way from school he would produce his treasured leaf and inquire: What does this mark mean? Thus, one by one, he learned the letters of the alphabet. Then he learned that through a combination of these characters words were formed. It was thus he learned to read and write.

William was a student of the Bible. The well-worn Bible left at his decease evidenced it. It was full of markings which he alone could understand. He studied it not so much historically and theologically as spiritually and experimentally. It was never easy for him to read however and because of this, the Holy Spirit seemed to bestow upon him especial insight and understanding of the Scriptures. I heard him preach many sermons, yet I cannot recall any unsoundness or any misquotation of the Scriptures. He used no notes in speaking, yet was concise and not repetitious. His sermons were orderly, logical, and climactic. One could feel that his words were inspired of God.

My Christian relationship with William Allen began at Ohio Yearly Meeting of Friends held at Damascus, Ohio, in August of 1882. Among the notables of the times were John Henry Douglas, Robert W. Douglas, Nathan and Esther Frame, Seth and Hulda Reese, and Calvin Pritchard, then editor of *The Christian Worker.* Among the highlights of that Yearly Meeting was a Ministers' Meeting, held in a tent and conducted by John Henry Douglas. Strong men were weeping and conservatives were shouting. It was

a pentecostal outpouring. Above all could be heard the sonorous voice of William Allen, summoning all that was within him to praise and magnify the Lord. William's spacious body seemed all too small for the fullness of the blessing which came to him that day.

No word or act of William Allen's ever brought reproach or embarrassment to his religious society. Though his work was mostly among the whites, he never "high-hatted" those of his own color. At a certain Yearly Meeting another Negro was present who was asked to preach at a Negro church on a First-Day. This minister responded that "He did not preach to niggers." Needless to say, William was given the appointment, to which he responded graciously. One of William's often-repeated sayings was: "I think a white man is just as good as a Negro, if he behaves himself as well."

He was endowed by his creator with a most remarkable voice. I have seen a congregation at one moment convulsed with laughter and the next moment moved to tears under his preaching. He had a vocabulary and a voice that could, when occasion demanded, cut like a two-edged sword.

At a particular meeting which he was holding in New York State, William was invited to attend a Conservative Friends' meeting nearby. This he gladly did. At the close of the service, the lone Elder of the meeting, now advanced in years, invited him to remain and hold a series of meetings there. I remember the Elder saying, "We are dying out anyway, and if it don't do any good, it can't do any harm." William, as was his custom, talked the matter over with his young companion. It was decided that he should stay and hold the meetings, provided he was allowed his customary freedom in their conduct. To this the Elder gave full consent. As usual, the meetinghouse was filled each evening.

Among the congregation, however, was a company of men who claimed to be infidels. By day they gathered in the village store and conspired against the services. They boasted that they would "Break up that nigger's meetings." They came to the meeting in a body and sat in the rear of the room. They seemed to create an atmosphere that was impervious to the truth of the Gospel. No word of appeal seemed to go beyond the lips of the speaker. Wil-

liam sensed the condition and immediately his keen spirit became master of the situation. In a flash his tactics changed, and there was poured forth such a deluge of oratorical denunciation of infidelity as I had never heard. The very foundations of the house seemed to tremble beneath his indignant feet. The congregation was spellbound. Of course, the so-called infidels were angered beyond measure. They simultaneously began slipping on their overshoes, preparing to leave the house when, just as suddenly as the tumult had begun, it ceased. In a voice as calm and serene as a summer sky, William said, "Now if anyone gets mad I have a scriptural text for him: 'Anger rests in the bosom of fools' (Eccles. VII, 9). Remember, this is not where I place you, but where the Bible places you." None of the infidels finished putting on his overshoes. Afraid of ridicule, they had been caught in their own snare. The meeting closed in perfect order.

Young in Christian life and experience, I had never seen the like, and I was frightened of the possible sequel. I had much to learn of the marvelous leadings of the Spirit of God and His mighty spiritual forces. In the services that followed there were satisfactory results, among which was the professed conversion of a Roman Catholic, who was the son-in-law of a devout Methodist. William now felt that his work at this place was accomplished, and made his plans to move on. Those who had sought to break up his meetings were on hand to bid him a friendly adieu. I have often wished I might have known the final effects of that meeting upon those self-styled infidels.

William Allen had a great fondness for children. In his kindly Christian presence, both youth and age forgot about difference in color. Intuitively, one was inspired with a sense of the kindly, loving, and pure nature that lay beneath that dusky exterior. People who had a hesitancy about receiving him into their homes, once having received him, forgot all about his color.

Young men of theological interests traveled with him regularly. These young men spoke in the early part of meetings. William always followed the beginner, clarifying, encouraging, easing his embarrassment. It is estimated that he started not less than thirty-seven young men in the ministry, a circumstance which

caused him to become known as the Traveling Theological Seminary of the Society of Friends.[2]

These young companions were always white. They were trained to do personal work. To them William committed the work with seekers at the altar. Also, he was strict regarding the deportment of these young men. Nevertheless, one of the young men fell in love with a beautiful young lady schoolteacher in Vermont, where they were holding evangelistic meetings. He had to conceal his devotion, however, until their mission was completed. Upon reaching his home in Ohio, the young man then took up the matter by mail. The young lady later gave up schoolteaching and became the wife of the much loved pastor of Des Moines, Iowa, Friends Meeting.

The writer has made the personal acquaintance of six of these companions of William Allen. Whatever he received in the way of financial contributions he religiously shared with his companion. William never knew how much his wallet contained, but there was always enough. While the Friends of yesterday have sometimes been accused of parsimony toward their ministers, Friends' meetings as a rule have been exceedingly generous toward those workers who were giving their entire time to Christian service.

The writer knows of one Friend who purchased the material and paid the tailor to make an English worsted suit for William Allen—not because the old suit was in any sense disreputable, but because he felt that William should have a second suit. No entry was ever made of this on the church records, and in all probability it has never been whispered outside the family concerned until now.

Following Ohio Yearly Meeting in 1882, William Allen visited Adrian Quarterly Meeting, Michigan. He held services at Hanover, my home meeting; at Rollin, the home meeting of Elizabeth Comstock, the silver-tongued orator; also at Tecumseh. At the three meetings mentioned he had as companions two of his young men. From Tecumseh he went to Sandusky, Ohio, where he was joined by a third young man which filled William's measure of joy. The weather was still warm, and one day between services,

[2] Some of the young companions of William Allen who became ministers of the Gospel were Walter Armitage, Harry Parry, Rufus Garrett, Charles Sweet, Albion Gibson, and Fred L. Ryon.

William expressed a wish to sit under an orange tree and pick and eat oranges. Whereupon, the young theological students went out, cut a sapling, and brought it in, and stood it up in the parlor of the home. They then went to the nearby store and bought oranges, fastening them on the tree. Then placing a chair under the would-be orange tree, they escorted William to the seat and invited him to "Go to." For once William seemed at loss for words. However, he appreciated the kindly gesture, and all enjoyed the innocent pleasantry.

This sketch of his life would indeed be incomplete without a record of an evangelistic itinerary in which I accompanied him throughout New York Yearly Meeting of Friends, in the winter of 1883. The first series of meetings was at what was then known as the North Street Meeting in Scipio Quarter. We were met at the station in Aurora by James Ostrander, who took us to his home for dinner and later took us to the home of Hiram Lyons, where we remained permanently during the meetings there. I remember the daughter, Genevieve, remarking jocosely one day that it was a "Den of Lions." Samuel Simkin was the minister at the North Street Meeting. We visited the South Street Meeting of which James Chase was the minister. South Street Meetinghouse was located at what was then known as Wheeler's Corners. Later the two meetings were united in one congregation, now known as Poplar Ridge Friends Meeting.

While we were yet at South Street Meeting, we attended a tri-township Sunday School Convention, held at Ledyard, in the Methodist Episcopal Church. William addressed the convention, while I was given the tenor part in the choir. Dinner was served in the church. It was a memorable occasion, and made a fitting close to our work in those meetings.

Our next series of meetings was held at Hector Friends Meeting. Here we made our home with Caleb Wixom and family. Our reception in the meeting was truly splendid and results seemed to follow our departure. This meetinghouse was later moved to Perry City, where a younger generation is now successfully carrying on. We visited other meetings belonging to Scipio Quarterly Meeting on this trip: Union Springs (then the home of Oakwood Friends Seminary) and Skaneateles Meeting, where Chauncey B. Thorne

was the able minister and also clerk of the Quarterly Meeting.

Leaving Skaneateles, William spent a few days with Friends in Rochester, then went on to Palmyra, where we were met by Alexander Purdy, and taken to his lovely home on his nursery farm not far from the city, with a midweek meeting on Wednesday, and morning and evening services on Sunday. A stage provided by Alexander Purdy conveyed the employees of the farm to all the services.[3] No deduction of time was made for their attendance at the midweek meeting. While we were being entertained at the Purdy home, it happened that Ellison R. Purdy and Edward Mott of Glens Falls were preaching their first sermons in a nearby schoolhouse; both later attained high honors in the ministry among Friends.

At the close of the series of meetings at Palmyra, William Allen returned to Skaneateles to attend Scipio Quarterly Meeting. From here we made our way through the mightiest fields of snow that I had ever seen, from Syracuse to Watertown. The snow was so banked up against the railroad track that in many places we could not see beyond the car window. At Watertown we hired a carriage to take us out several miles to the home of Hiram Wilbur. We found the house literally submerged in drifted snow. Cheerful lights were shining through the front windows, but access through the front door was utterly impossible. The liveryman with difficulty turned his team around and waited for us to gain entrance to the house. This we accomplished by wading through the snow, surmounting drifts, and finally reaching the woodhouse door at the rear of the house. Within the cheerful, well-lighted, and comfortable living room, the usual friendly welcome awaited us. In spite of the unfavorable weather conditions, a very satisfactory series of meetings was held. As I remember it, this meeting was known as Evans Mills. A son in this family, William Wilbur, attended Oakwood School, at Union Springs, and later became a minister of the Gospel.

Following this series of meetings, William was invited by the Elder of a nearby Conservative Friends Meeting, to come and con-

[3] One of the men, John Weaver, then employed on the farm, later moved to Clintondale, Ulster County, New York. Through this man, Fred L. Ryon was invited by the meeting to become its pastor.

duct a similar meeting at Le Roysville. William was assured that there would be no restrictions placed upon his methods of work. Harmony prevailed, and the work was carried to a successful end.

His mission accomplished in this part of New York Yearly Meeting, William now turned toward the Friends' meetings in Vermont. We were routed northward through New York State and around the north end of Lake Champlain. It was night when we arrived at North Ferrisburg. In the meantime, the conductor had informed us that our train did not stop at that station. However, after much argument and prayer, he consented to slow down the train sufficiently for us to land safely on the station platform. Planting our feet securely on the lower step of the coach, we awaited the signal, when with alacrity we let ourselves down to the station platform. We landed standing upright, but in total darkness save for the feeble flare of a kerosene lantern that was burning nearby. Happily, this lantern proved to be the property of Peter Dakin who with his farmhand had ventured out over the hazardous roads of a Vermont winter breakup to meet us and convey us safely to his home, where a bountiful supper had been prepared and kept steaming hot for us.

The summer of 1884 and the winter of 1884-1885 were spent within the limits of Ferrisburg Quarterly Meeting, Vermont. Meetings were held at North Ferrisburg, Ferrisburg, Moncton Ridge, South Starksboro, and Bristol. While at Bristol we held meetings in a schoolhouse. It was in this meeting that I noticed in William Allen for the first time the enthusiasm characteristic of the Negro people. In the congregation, near the platform, three men had taken their places. They all had excellent voices, were good singers, and enthusiastic worshippers. They kept time by patting their feet and clapping their hands, and were generous with their loud Amens. I remember William comparing some churches to a pump that had to be primed. He said you had to pour and pour and pour before you could even get an Amen. After this meeting William said to me, "Wasn't that a good meeting?" I was not greatly enthusiastic over their methods; I was nevertheless glad for the cheer and uplift it gave him, for I am sure he must have missed in the calm Quaker worship much of the demonstrative quality so natural to him.

William was a stickler for good order and reverence in the Lord's house. It is told that in a meeting in Canada one evening, the young people became somewhat hilarious; something had greatly amused them and much giggling was going on. Suddenly, as was his custom in an emergency, his manner changed and, speaking with rapier-stroke, he said, "It appears to me that those young people have found a Hee-hee's nest containing a Haw-haw's egg." His methods of control in meetings were always effective, leaving the speaker on a higher spiritual plane. Those who came to scoff went away to praise.

Leaving Ferrisburg, William visited the home meeting of Joseph Hoag of Charlotte, famed for his vision of the War between the States. We viewed with interest the well-preserved home of that former minister and prophet. The attendance at the meeting here was not so large as at Ferrisburg. One of the interesting features, however, was the dismissal of the district school so that the pupils could attend the midweek service in a body.

The work in the Green Mountain State now being completed, I learned that William from the very beginning of this itinerary had planned to close it by attending New York Yearly Meeting at Glens Falls in the spring of 1885. With the closing of this meeting, our companionship was for the time ended, and I returned to my home at Hanover, Michigan.

It was not until about the year 1890 that we again met. At that time I had been called to the pastorate of the Pelham, Canada, Friends meeting. Rufus Garrett, a former companion to William Allen, had suggested my name to the meeting. With a young man named Albion Gibson, William came from Ohio to attend Pelham Quarterly Meeting. Following the Quarterly Meeting, it seemed right to hold evangelistic meetings at a place a few miles away, where a Community Church had been built. These meetings proved very successful and, as a result, some twenty-five new members were received into the Pelham Meeting. This proved to be my last meeting with this remarkable man of God. I am also the last of the American boys to serve as his companion.

This trip to Canada ended in William Allen's change of residence from Ohio to Ontario. He spent some time at Mariposa Meeting, then went to Gowrie, and, in the early nineties,

arrived at Yonge Street and Newmarket Meetings. At Newmarket, through his special effort, forty young people came into the meeting. About this time Harry Parry and Walter Armitage joined with him in meetings at Moscow, Plymouth, and Colbrook. The following winter he conducted special meetings in Toronto. In 1897, after attending the Quarterly Meeting at Wooler, he with his companion, Walter Armitage, conducted a six-weeks meeting at Bloomfield, with the building packed to the doors. Then, going further east during the summer, they held meetings in a large tent, purchased by the Yearly Meeting. Later, they went to Sunbury, where it was said William preached at his best.

His work in Canada was of an evangelistic nature that reflected the untutored poetry and childlike faith of his people. Though most of those who were privileged to sit under his ministry are no longer living, memories and stories still survive of this tall, powerful Negro, wearing the straight black coat buttoned almost to the neck, his kinky black hair and beard touched with the frost of "fullness of years," while his broad ebony features were aglow with the joy of his heart. "Among travelling Friends and visitors who came to Quaker Meetings in Canada during all the years of the Friends' activities," writes Jesse M. Walton, "none are more vividly and more fondly remembered than this remarkable man, William Allen."[4]

His last days on earth were spent in the home of his long-time, faithful friend, James Colquhoun, the father of Albert A. Colquhoun, minister of the Friends meeting at Hibbert, near Mitchell, Perth County, Ontario.

William Allen's death occurred on May 21, 1898. Interment was in the Friends cemetery adjacent to the Hibbert Meetinghouse. Some years after his passing, I was called to officiate at a Colquhoun family wedding. Olive Ryon accompanied me and together we visited the grave of William Allen. We found that the Colquhoun family had placed a modest marble stone to mark the last resting place of this faithful servant of God. Chiseled upon the stone were the words:

Sacred to the memory
of
William Allen
A Friends Minister

[4] P. 7.

Historical News

Friends Historical Association

Friends Historical Association took part in the commemoration of the 275th anniversary of the coming of the Welsh Quakers to Pennsylvania by holding its Spring Meeting in the Radnor Meetinghouse, Ithan, Pennsylvania, on Fifth Month 17, 1958. Preceding the formal meeting, the members of the Association and their guests visited historic places in the Welsh Tract. The Entertainment Committee suggested that morning visits be paid to the Haverford College Library where historic documents were on display, and to the Merion and Old Haverford Meetinghouses. In the afternoon several private homes were open for inspection, including Pencoyd on City Line in Philadelphia, the home of T. Williams Roberts, which has been in the Roberts family since 1683; also on City Line was the home of John M. George, who left money to establish George School; and the Morris Llewellyn house built in 1693 and located in Ardmore.

The beautiful spring day and the interesting program attracted many members of the Association, and when the group assembled at 4 p.m., the Radnor Meetinghouse was filled to capacity. The President of the Association, Richmond P. Miller, presided, and expressed appreciation to Radnor Friends for their hospitality. He also read a communication of greetings to Friends Historical Association brought by Geoffrey Nuttall from Friends Historical Society in London.

Richmond Miller then introduced Geoffrey F. Nuttall, Lecturer at the University of London, who spoke on "The Coming of Quakerism to Wales." Evelyn Southall Whiting, of Almeley Meeting, England, described "Some Early Welsh Friends and their Homes." At the conclusion of this talk, color slides were shown of Wales and the homes of Welsh Friends.

Friends then joined in a social hour and enjoyed their picnic suppers under the trees or in the First-day School rooms. Ice cream and coffee were provided by Radnor Meeting. The 1958 Spring Meeting was enjoyed by many members of the Association and their guests, and appreciation was expressed to the Entertainment Committee for planning the meeting and to Radnor Friends for their gracious hospitality.

Anna B. Hewitt

On June 30th, 1958, twenty-six people gathered at dinner in Founders Hall at Haverford College to honor Anna B. Hewitt on her retirement as Assistant Curator of the Quaker Collection in the Haverford College Library. President Hugh Borton spoke of her thirty-two years of service to the College and presented her with a three-piece silver set as a token of the love and appreciation of her friends and associates.

Anna B. Hewitt has served Quaker history in many capacities. She has been known and loved by hundreds of visitors who have sought her help in the library. She has been responsible for choice exhibits of Treasure Room and Quaker materials there. She has taken much responsibility for

the work of the Friends Historical Association and has served over many years as Chairman of its Membership Committee, as Assistant Editor of its BULLETIN, and as its Secretary. At a time when she was looking forward to years of rest and more leisurely interests, she has graciously consented to continue the work of Membership Chairman and Assistant Editor.

As a token of respect the following minute was adopted by the Committee of Friends Historical Society in London: "We understand that Anna B. Hewitt is retiring from the Quaker Collection at Haverford on July 1st, after about thirty years as Assistant Curator. We have happy memories of her visit to the Library at Friends House in 1949, and during the almost constant correspondence of more recent years, we have always been greatly helped by her knowledge and advice concerning American Quakeriana. We send our warm greetings to Anna Hewitt for a happy retirement."

The Friends Historical Association adds its good wishes to those of English Friends to our beloved member, Anna B. Hewitt.

WESTERN YEARLY MEETING CENTENNIAL

On the evening of August 18th, 1958, the large red brick meetinghouse at Plainfield, Indiana, was filled to capacity. Western Yearly Meeting was in session and the opening of the yearly meeting at Plainfield in 1858 was being re-enacted. Over fifty Friends in plain dress with bonnets and broad-brimmed hats occupied the "facing benches" while several hundred Friends in modern dress formed the body of the meeting. A spirit of worship and quiet dignity filled the sessions as the early minutes were read. Visitors from other yearly meetings rose for recognition at the call of the clerks, imaginary partitions were lowered and raised, messengers from the Women's Meeting carried messages to the Men's Meeting, and items of business were dealt with in the traditional Quaker manner.

On August 20th, another historical session took members and visitors on a pictorial tour of Western's local meetings. Colored slides were shown with explanatory script prepared by Mabel Leigh Hunt, author of children's books. The script was based on notes made by local and quarterly meeting historians, notes permanently filed by Western Yearly Meeting as source material for future research.

Wilma E. Reeve edited an historical brochure to commemorate the anniversary. This informed attenders of the order of yearly meeting business, listed the succession of clerks and superintendents, and preserved the highlights of the meeting's history in a chronology.

During the three years of preparation for this memorable occasion, Friends in each area were encouraged to gather books and family relics to be used for attractive exhibits in the Yearly Meetinghouse and on tables on the broad and shady lawn, and other Friends prepared addresses on the inspiring lives of early members. All this was accomplished through the energy and initiative of a capable Centennial Committee composed of a representative from each Quarterly Meeting. It helped to create unusual interest in the 1958 Western Yearly Meeting week at Plainfield.

Book Reviews

The History of Seventy Years of the Society of Friends in Japan. Edited by Kiyoshi Ukaji and Ichiro Koizumi. Published by Japan Yearly Meeting, 1957. In Japanese. 150 pages. Not for sale.

This work consists of four parts. 1. The Origin and Development of the Society of Friends in the World. 2. The History of Seventy Years of the Society of Friends in Japan. 3. The State of Japan Yearly Meeting Today. 4. Organizations connected with the Society of Friends in Japan. Parts 1, 3 and 4 are introductions to Quakerism in the world and in Japan, chiefly for the convenience of those who are not Quakers. Part 2, of course, is the central part of the book, and is really for nobody else than the Japanese Quakers. It is a prayerful confession, searching self-examination and challenge to themselves!

As a history it is not a well-knit one, especially in the first half of the period, 1885-1936. There are a number of things that have characterized Japan to which this book pays little attention, as if they had had nothing to do with Quakerism, such as Shintoistic nationalism and the Imperial Rescript on education, the social and racial segregations, the inequality of men and women, the Russo-Japanese War, and the First World War (during which the first Japanese Monthly Meeting and Japan Yearly Meeting were established).

And yet, sketchy as it is, it is a valuable record of the continuous struggles and awakenings of Japanese Friends with the ever devoted service and encouragement of love from abroad, especially from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting ever since the Cosands landed at Yokohama in 1885.

The latter half of the history, from 1937 on, gives us an exact and touching picture of the progress of the Society of Friends. Just before the outbreak of the Second World War, the Society of Friends in Japan was forced to join the nationalistic United Church, by which, as the writer says, the Society of Friends in Japan came to an end, except for two private groups: several people who looked after the "Bowles' Home," and the group of Young Friends, about twelve in number, who continued to have their meetings for worship in private homes. They proved to be "The atom nucleus stronger than all the oppressions from outside" that brought about in 1947 the second birth of the Society of Friends in Japan.

A remarkable thing is that since the war Japanese Friends have come to be more and more firmly convinced that they must realize these three things as the vital principles of the re-born Society of Friends in Japan: (1) Non-programmed silent meetings for worship; (2) No paid workers for ministry; and (3) Financial independence. Virtually the same thing had been expressed as far back as the Society's anniversary in 1936. The

writer says that the failure to realize these principles must have been one of the causes which made the Society of Friends in Japan un-Quakerly for so long.

Of course, the three things as mere rules do not make Quakerism. As for financial independence, for instance, in what spirit should Friends keep it? The Society of Friends in Japan will prove the importance of these principles in future years through its life under God's guidance.

This history is a noble attempt to show what Quakerism has meant to the Japanese and how the Japanese Quakers have received God's guidance. It is a courageous social testimony of their faith.

Tokyo, Japan

Yukio Irie

Ernest E. Taylor: Valiant for Truth. By J. Roland Whiting. London: Bannisdale Press. 1958. 135 pages. $2.50.

The author of this book is possibly better known to Friends in the United States than is his subject, since Roland and Evelyn Whiting this year completed a term at Pendle Hill. Ernest E. Taylor, who was behind the scenes in much of the Quaker writing and publishing in England during the last half century, was a visitor at Pendle Hill for only five days in 1934.

Quaker historians, however, should have a special interest in reading this life, for whilst Ernest Taylor published only two books, *Cameos from the Life of George Fox* (1907) and *The Valiant Sixty* (1947, with a second edition in 1951), he produced and edited a large number of pamphlets and spent his life urging the value of the printed word in "the publishing of Truth."

He was an active member of the Friends' Historical Society (London) from its foundation until his death in 1955, and his Presidential address in 1921 *The First Publishers of Truth* formed the basis for *The Valiant Sixty.*

For over twenty years Ernest E. Taylor acted as Honorary Secretary to the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* Trustees, and in his contributions to this periodical, and to the London *Friend,* as well as in his work as first secretary of the Yorkshire 1905 Committee (now the Yorkshire Friends Service Committee) he was at the heart of Quaker extension work. Readers of today will find it helpful to study the record of his experiences as it appeared in an article in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* of July 1916. Many of his recommendations relating to meetinghouse libraries, literature, and advertising are still valid.

Ernest Taylor was instrumental in starting the Bannisdale Press, mainly to further the publishing of Quaker books, and when over eighty years of age he was still actively planning and exploring ways of publishing such books cheaply so that they could be made available for a wide public.

Nor did he rely on the printed word only. He was the inspired guide

of the "Quaker Pilgrimage" for school boys and girls to the Pendle Hill and Swarthmoor Hall country. Shortly before his death, the leadership of these pilgrimages was taken over by Elfrida Vipont Foulds.

One reason why Ernest Taylor's contribution to Quaker history is important, although he himself was not particularly well-known, is brought out in a note about him which appeared in the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* in 1955. "He not only made himself familiar with the lives of the first Friends and the places from which they came, but linked them with the revitalization of Quakerism in our own day, and younger Friends were attracted by his presentation of the romantic realities of early Quaker life and spiritual achievement."

A reading of this book leaves one with a feeling that Roland Whiting has succeeded very well in bringing back one of our modern "Publishers of Truth" to the hearts and memories of those who knew him, and also introducing him to the greater number who could not know him personally but who, perhaps without previously realizing it, have learned a great deal about Quakerism from Ernest Taylor's life and writings.

Browns Mills, New Jersey

TESSA CADBURY

Quaker Homespun: The Life of Thomas Fox of Wellington, Serge Maker and Banker, 1747-1821. By Hubert Fox. London: George Allen and Unwin. 1958. 135 pages. $2.50.

Hubert Fox's life of this Quaker manufacturer is a small gem. In 132 pages the author conducts the reader effortlessly through a rich trove of historical knowledge. One understands why the wool business of Thomas Fox changed as the American Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and the industrial revolution took place. And the author, in addition to supplying sound historical perspective, manages to infuse much human warmth in this business biography.

Though Fox was the son of a general merchant and had rich relatives, he had no capital of his own when he joined the Were family firm in 1768. Because his uncles practiced neither Quakerly restraint nor capitalist abstemiousness in their way of life, Fox, who did, soon became the firm's indispensable manager.

At the beginning of his career the firm made woolens which were baled and sent to Holland. When Napoleonic decrees interfered with this trade, Were and Company concentrated on the production of "Long Ells." These the British East India Company bought to trade for Chinese tea. A cautious innovator, Fox later developed a line of printed serges and flannels which enjoyed international sales. As an adjunct to its regular business the firm carried on certain banking functions which, in time, became the basis for a large West Country bank.

As a man Thomas Fox had both likeable and admirable qualities. He deeply enjoyed his family life; he did his best to tide his workers over

during a famine; he favored reform of the barbarous criminal code. Yet, despite the charm of the author's narrative, Fox seems never to have been very much more than a highly successful business man. Willingly, he drove himself to superintend every detail of his business, establishing a regimen which left little energy for other concerns. Fox appears to have held travel, intellectual pursuits, philanthrophy, or reform at arm's length. "His feet firmly on the ground, he enquired of Thomas Clarkson whether the new settlement for freed slaves in Sierra Leone might provide a market for woolen goods." If his Quaker upbringing made him a better business man, it is not clear that his business success contributed heavily to his support of Friends' concerns. Still, the reader will be the richer for reading this pleasant and informative book.

Hofstra College

Robert Davison

Quaker Organization and Business Meetings. By L. Hugh Doncaster. London: Friends Home Service Committee, 1958. 102 pages. $1.00.

In spite of its brevity and paper cover this is one of the meatiest pieces of Quaker historical writing to appear for some years. Its concentration on the mechanical side of history has not prevented illuminating comments on the spiritual forces which have led to the many steps in the evolution of the Society of Friends over three centuries. It is divided into five periods. The story is restricted also to the British scene. It traces the early transfer from individual leadership to general meetings, to monthly and quarterly meetings, to yearly and other central meetings, and latterly to the growth of central organization. It traces the development and changes in the discipline, the definition of membership, and many similar questions. The reader is impressed with the naturalness of the changes, and with the capacity of the Society ultimately to adjust intelligently to new conditions. We are grateful to the author not only for much interesting detail but also for his sympathetic understanding of what might otherwise be a rather dull chronicle. The quotations from Friends contemporary with the events are especially revealing.

Haverford, Pennsylvania

Henry J. Cadbury

The Travels of William Bartram: Naturalist's Edition. Edited by Francis Harper. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1958. xxxv, 727 pages. Illustrations, maps. $8.50.

This sumptuously printed and exhaustively annotated volume is the culmination of a labor of love which has occupied Francis Harper for many years. In 1942 and 1943 the American Philosophical Society published his editions of John Bartram's *Diary of a Journey through the Carolinas,*

Georgia, and Florida and William Bartram's *Travels in Georgia and Florida, 1773-74: A Report to Dr. John Fothergill.* Now the Yale University Press has brought out his magistral edition of the younger Bartram's famous *Travels* (1791), a work now securely installed in the canon of American literature. John Livingston Lowes and other literary scholars have followed the trail of William Bartram through the rich garden of Romantic literature, showing us how his observations took root in the imaginations of writers like Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Chateaubriand to flower in strange and magical ways on their pages. But we have never had an edition by a naturalist with the zeal and knowledge to follow Bartram's actual path through the forests of our Southeast, to visit all the places he visited, to identify the plants and animals he described. This need Francis Harper has filled. He has provided, in addition to the text of the *Travels,* a full commentary, historical, geographical, and scientific, and a thorough annotated index in which all Bartram's references to plants, animals, and minerals are translated into current nomenclature, the places he mentioned are located, and the individuals and Indian tribes he encountered are identified. It is a splendid achievement.

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

Christian Pacifism in History. By Geoffrey F. Nuttall. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958. vii, 84 pages. $2.25.

The carefully chosen chapter headings of this fine book are: "The Fear of Idolatry," "The Law of Christ," "The Ministry of Suffering," "The Dignity of Man," and "The Means of Redemption." Each chapter is a "sounding" from a different period of history and gives, not a complete narrative, but an "impression" of what the author sees as the distinctive element of Christian pacifism in successive periods of the Christian era. The book is objective history, but throughout—especially in the last chapter, an interpretation of contemporary pacifism—the reader can sense the author's own commitment to Christian pacifism, and his interest in pointing out the relevance of historical pacifism to that of today. The combination of thorough knowledge and deep conviction makes this an unusually valuable book.

During the first three centuries of Christianity the refusal of Christians to participate in war was only "one expression among many" of their refusal to accept any part of the life of the world, or of the state. They were pacifists because they were completely non-political. It was idolatry to serve the state militarily or in any other way.

After Constantine, and throughout the Middle Ages, this enmity between the Church and the world was abandoned. Pacifists could no longer simply say that taking part in war was heathenism. They turned instead to the "law of Christ" or "the law of Scripture." Obedience was the key word for the Waldenses, Wycliffe and the Lollards, and the

Moravians—obedience not to the Bible as a whole but to the New Testament, and to the Sermon on the Mount in particular.

The emphasis of the Anabaptists during the Reformation era was not on law but on the "necessity for suffering in the Christian ethic;" theirs was not only a non-worldly church but a suffering one. In the writings of Conrad Grebel, one of the Swiss Brethren, "there is not one quotation from the Sermon on the Mount." For Menno Simons, of the Netherlands, suffering was an opportunity for ministry, for the regeneration of the wicked oppressor.

Geoffrey Nuttall uses the Friends to illustrate the coming of a new element into Christian pacifism, an element brought by the Renaissance. Quakers combined all the emphases mentioned above—they considered themselves a society separated from the world, they depended heavily on the teachings of Jesus, and they recognized fully the possibility of ministry through the acceptance of suffering. But they were Christian humanists also, like Erasmus and Comenius. They believed in the dignity of man; the Light of Christ was in every individual person. Said George Fox, "We love all men and women, simply as they are men and women, and as they are God's workmanship, and so as brethren."

It is worth noting that more than once the author pays tribute to Alfred Neave Brayshaw, historian of Quakerism, as a guide to his own understanding of Christian pacifism.

University of Pennsylvania Library

LYMAN W. RILEY

War Comes to Quaker Pennsylvania, 1682-1756. By Robert L. D. Davidson. New York: Temple University Publications by Columbia University Press, 1957. x, 245 pages. $5.00.

This is a military history of colonial Pennsylvania. The preface explains that the Quakers controlled the assembly for three-quarters of a century despite their opposition to military service and preparation for war, but were finally forced to relinquish that control due to: 1) The economic interests of the Quakers; 2) political opposition within the province; and 3) the Anglo-French struggle for empire.

Except for one brief chapter on the composition and distribution of the population, the entire book is the story, first of rumors of war beginning in 1689, and then of war itself, until Quaker pacifism lost control of the government in 1756. Half of the book is devoted to the period, 1749-56, and gives a detailed and reasonably satisfactory account of the Anglo-French rivalry, the Indian relations, and the struggles between the assembly and the governor and proprietors, at the end of which those Quakers most politically minded are seen to be less interested in pacifism than in other concerns.

As military history the book has added nothing new to our knowledge.

The story is drawn from printed sources, the *Colonial Records, Votes of the Assembly, Pennsylvania Gazette, Pennsylvania Archives, Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* writings of Benjamin Franklin, and works of Francis Parkman who had used these same sources and told the story in more readable fashion than it is here told.

A study more greatly needed is a critical examination of the Holy Experiment as to its political philosophy, and the theological and ethical issues involved, with a critical analysis of pacifism in relation to the economic and political order and its place in the Christian ethical system. At any rate, a fresh treatment of the military phase of the Pennsylvania story would need to be based on manuscript sources. Besides the Quaker yearly meeting records, however, the only important manuscripts listed in the bibliography are the Penn, the Peters, the Weiser, the Logan, and the Board of Trade papers of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Moreover, of more than 630 footnote citations only seventeen refer to these manuscript sources. The important Logan papers are not referred to at all, while the Norris, the Pemberton, the William Smith and other manuscripts at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are not even listed in the bibliography. Neither are the Penn and the Franklin papers in the library of the American Philosophical Society, the Franklin manuscripts at the University of Pennsylvania, nor the transcripts of the Public Records Office in the Library of Congress. Several unpublished theses are listed as "manuscript sources," although one of the best, Joseph E. Johnson's, "A Statesman of Colonial Pennsylvania: A study of the Private Life and Public Career of James Logan" (Harvard, 1942), is not listed.

A distressing feature of the book is the careless manner in which even the printed sources and authorities are used. As an illustration, reference is made to "John Hamburg, a Quaker merchant in London and prominent stockholder of the Ohio Company," who was blamed for the unhappy selection of Braddock's route from Virginia, through Maryland to western Pennsylvania, with Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe* cited as authority. Parkman does make the statement in volume 1, page 196 (not page 204 as Davidson says), but gives the Quaker's name correctly as John Hanbury. Such a mistake is uncalled for in the case of so important a figure as Hanbury, one of the most prominent tobacco merchants of London, and a member of the London Meeting for Sufferings and of its sub-committee which was responsible for the withdrawal of the Quakers from the assembly in 1756, and who was in continuous correspondence with Governor Dinwiddie concerning the issues of the day. The Hanbury papers are in the British Museum, but an examination of the Dinwiddie papers (which Parkman used) should have made the name sufficiently familiar to avoid so glaring an error.

Other cases of misspelled names and incorrect titles of books suggested a check of quotations in the text. Seventeen quotations cited as from the *Colonial Records,* selected at random from chapter X, were given a careful

check, with the following results: Three were located on the pages cited and found to be accurately quoted; ten were located on the pages indicated, but with one or more errors each, one of which changed the meaning of the quotation in a serious way; one quotation, also containing an error, was located several pages removed from the page cited; three quotations could not be located.

Goshen College

GUY F. HERSHBERGER

Bibliography of Pennsylvania History (Second edition of *Writings on Pennsylvania History, a Bibliography).* Compiled by Norman B. Wilkinson; S. K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent, editors. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 1957. xxx, 826 pages. $7.00.

This volume will be warmly welcomed by every student of history, particularly Quaker history. The 1957 edition is a reprinting of the earlier edition plus substantial new material. While the basic organization of the bibliography has been changed very little since the first edition was published in 1947, the present edition is greatly enlarged and improved. While the old index listed only the names of the authors, the new one is very complete and fills 115 pages. Some 3,000 new items have been added in the new edition, making a total of 9,198 entries. The earlier volume ended with 1942, while this one covers another decade, to 1952.

The scope has been broadened in this edition to include some printed source materials, and "everything which, in the compiler's judgment, might add to a more complete picture of the State's past, and to a better understanding of its contemporary affairs." Students of Quaker history will find a wealth of bibliographical material in the volume. For example, there are 135 items about William Penn and his family. There are sections on the Society of Friends, the "Holy Experiment," Indian relations, slavery, and many other reforms. Scattered through the 700 pages of bibliography are hundreds of references to Quakers in arts and crafts, the law, politics, science, literature, and in biographical sections. These are not always easy to find, and the new index will be useful in this connection.

While there is some cross-referencing between categories, no attempt was made to list an item more than once when it was important in more than one section of the bibliography. For example, James Bowden's *History of the Society of Friends in America* is listed under state history, but not under the Society of Friends. This means that the student must take his time with the book, consider all possibilities, and consult the index carefully.

Naturally any reviewer asks some questions. Items 598 and 1850 are obviously the same unpublished dissertation, listed under two titles.

William H. Loyd, Jr., still has his name spelled "Lloyd" as in the first edition. Why is Howard Fast's *Citizen Tom Paine* omitted, while his *Haym Salomon,* a juvenile book, is included? These three queries are not raised to indicate dissatisfaction with the volume, but rather to indicate that the reviewer has spent many enjoyable hours poring over this very valuable new bibliographical aid.

Temple University

EDWIN B. BRONNER

The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision. Edited by Guy F. Hershberger. Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press. 1957. 360 pages. $4.50.

This *festschrift* is a collection of twenty-five essays in honor of Harold S. Bender, dean of American Mennonite historians, whose seminal essay "The Anabaptist Vision" is also reprinted. Each contribution deals with some aspect of the history, the thought, or the influence of the oldest of the "historic peace churches." One is impressed by the learning and thoughtfulness of the essays, and one wonders if the Society of Friends today could assemble a comparable series of essays on "The Recovery of the Early Quaker Vision."

Historians have often pointed out significant parallels and divergences between the Quaker and Anabaptist traditions. The two major differences appear clearly in these essays. The religious groups in the Anabaptist tradition—the various branches of Mennonites and the Hutterian Brethren —have always relied on the outward Word rather than the Spirit for guidance and authority, as John C. Wenger makes clear (though, as Ernst Crous points out, certain Dutch and Palatine Mennonites turned to the Spirit in the seventeenth century, partly under Quaker influence). And they have always assumed, as Robert Friedmann shows, that the "world" is "utterly hopeless," that it can never be Christianized. (Roland H. Bainton, the one Friend among the contributors declares, however, in good Quaker fashion: "This is an assumption which for myself I am not prepared to make.") But the similarities between the two traditions are otherwise close and suggestive. Students of Quaker history will find these scholarly essays interesting and authoritative. In addition, they provide a useful platform from which to view the development of the Society of Friends.

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

Briefer Notices

By HENRY J. CADBURY

Walter H. Blumenthal's article in *The American Book Collector,* VI (1956), 13-19, "American Book Burnings" to the present day, may be mentioned here since the books of the Muggletonians and of the Quakers were among the earliest burnt in Massachusetts and the 260-page volume of Thomas Maule, the Salem Quaker, *Truth Set Forth and Maintained,* when ordered burnt in 1695, set afire a famous controversy.

* * *

A letter from Indianapolis in 1828 by Isaiah Osborn to his brother John, both of them sons of Charles Osborn, the antislavery writer, gives a vivid picture of the experiences of pioneer Friends in Wayne County. It is printed in the *Year Book of the Society of Indiana Pioneers* (1952), pp. 31-35.

* * *

Ezra Baily (1802-1878), the Quaker architect, is the subject of a brief account by Opal Thornburg in *The Earlhamite,* LXXXVIII (July 1957), 16. He was the builder about 1854 of Earlham Hall, as it came to be called, at Friends Boarding School, Richmond, Indiana. Before Ezra lived in Ohio, his ancestors had come from Maryland, Pennsylvania, and England.

* * *

Patrick W. Riddleberger contributes a chapter from his dissertation on the Quaker-born reformer, George Washington Julian of Indiana, in *Indiana Magazine of History,* LI (1955), 221-236, entitled "The Making of a Political Abolitionist, George W. Julian and the Free Soilers, 1848." As abolitionist he retained his Quaker background, while religiously he moved away from it into Unitarianism. He continued his friendship with Lucretia Mott and some of the Wayne County Quakers.

* * *

Another instalment by R. L. Beare of his studies on Kuhlmann, the Behmenist called a Quaker, executed in Russia in 1689 (see this BULLETIN, XLIII, 126) is on "Quirinus Kuhlmann and the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*" in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* LII (1953), 346-371.

* * *

The chapters on *"Zwei Ketzer in Moskau"* in *Aus Zwei Welten: Beiträge zur Geschichte der slavisch-westlichen literarischen Beziehungen* by Dmitrij Cizevskij of Heidelberg (The Hague, 1956) deals first with Quirinus Kuhlmann and his associates (pp. 231-252). It is based on papers assembled at Halle by the famous A. H. Francke and his associates. The article was published in 1944 in the periodical *Kyrios,* VI, 29-60. Of par-

allel interest in the same volume are the essays by the same author on *"Deutsche Mystik in Russland"* and *"Jacob Boehme in Russland."*

* * *

A History of Farmers Institute Monthly Meeting of Friends and its Community, 1828-1951 by Nellie Taylor Raub (48 pages, 1951, obtainable for $1.00 from the church at Farmers Institute, R.R. 8, Lafayette, Indiana) contains much local and personal information about this little Quaker church and community in Tippecanoe County.

* * *

Henry Noble McCracken's *Old Dutchess Forever* (New York, 1956) prints for the first time (pp. 197-198) a list of twenty-six Friends of Dutchess County, New York, who refused to pay the exemption tax in lieu of military service, and suffered arrest and distraint of goods in 1755. Mention is also made of the protest against slaveholding by Oblong Meeting in 1767, and the full payment of quitrents for the Oblong Lots by the Friends of Quaker Hill after partial commutation had been provided by the law of 1786.

* * *

In a closely compact article, "The Scientists' Conscience: Historical Considerations," in the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists,* XII (1956), 177-178, O. T. Benfey traced the change from a strong objection by scientists to the use of their discoveries for military purposes to a feeling that science would be contributory to peace. It is an anomalous fact that "at the turning point from the era of the worried conscience-stricken scholar stands of all people a Quaker." That was Benjamin Robins, who lived in the first half of the eighteenth century and who kept his Quaker connections, though he resigned from the Society of Friends in his early twenties.

* * *

Literary sources for Dreiser's novel *The Bulwark* are traced by Gerhard Friedrich in "Theodore Dreiser's Debt to Woolman's *Journal" (American Quarterly,* VII [*1955*], *385-392*) and "A Major Influence on Theodore Dreiser's *The Bulwark" (American Literature,* XXIX [1957], 180-193). The latter refers to the dependence, sometimes almost verbatim, on Rufus M. Jones's books, especially *Finding the Trail of Life.* Cf. further this BULLETIN, XLVI (1957), 23-34.

* * *

The *Pictorial History of Protestantism* by Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library, 1957, xi, 368 pages) devotes eight pages and twenty-eight pictures (pp. 181-188) to the Society of Friends. Here are likenesses of Fox (the doubtful Fairland engraving), Penn, Elias Hicks, Whittier, and Rufus Jones, along with facsimiles of manuscripts, photographs and drawings of meetinghouses, and pictures of Friends in meeting—caricatured, idealized, and photographed. The text is somewhat scrappy and discontinuous (as is perhaps inevitable in a picture-book) but reasonably accurate save for a few minor slips. The book reflects the difficulty—

greater than in the case of most denominations—of presenting Quakerism adequately through pictorial images.

* * *

The Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, H. R. Trevor-Roper, includes in his *Men and Events: Historical Essays* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957, pp. 221-227) a short piece on "The Quakers," originally written in the tercentenary year 1952 for *The New Statesman and Nation.* Quakerism, he writes, was "the only world movement to have been generated" by the English Revolution. He finds George Fox's integrity a challenge to the *trahison des clercs*—the betrayal of ideals, whether by the leaders of the English Revolution or of our own time.

* * *

Albert J. Wahl contributes an article on "The Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends," *Pennsylvania History,* XXV (1958), 122-136. This is described as "an expansion" of one by the same author on the same subject in this BULLETIN in 1953 (XLII, 13-32). It runs in fact very close to it. In spite of his extensive documentation, the author appears not to mention earlier articles on the Progressive Friends in this BULLETIN, X, 21-32 and XVII, 49-53, or some of the literature mentioned in them.

* * *

Mabel Leigh Hunt's *Tomorrow Will be Bright* (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1958, 140 pages), though it is fiction and a juvenile (ages 9-12), deserves mention here because it deals accurately, Quaker language and all, with the experiences of North Carolina Friends migrating to settle in Ohio about 1800. Educationally, it is described as enrichment for middle grades.

* * *

C. Waller Barrett's address for the sesquicentennial of Whittier's birth at the American Antiquarian Society is published in the Society's *Proceedings,* LXVII (1957), 125-136. It deals with him as antiquarian, politician, and poet, and regrets that "Whittier is not alive today in this new period of sectional turmoil" to appeal to the conscience of America on behalf of the freedom of the Negro's mind and spirit, as he did before for the freedom of body.

* * *

The only known copy of the broadside, probably printed by Franklin at Passy, on the contents of John Bartram's botanical garden has been acquired by the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and described and reproduced by Gilbert Chinard in its *Library Bulletin* for 1957. Its title is *Catalogue d'Arbres d'Arbustes et de Plantes Qui croissent en Amérique . . . dans le Jardin de John Bartram près de Philadelphie . . .* 1783.

* * *

In the Lives of Famous Men and Women Series published by Common Ground Limited, London, a thirty-page pamphlet on Elizabeth Fry is

issued, with a film strip of thirty-nine pictures. The pamphlet includes a brief account of the subject and a text for the identification of each picture.

* * *

Benjamin Waterhouse (1754-1846), first Professor of the theory and practice of physic at Harvard, was of Quaker descent and had Quaker connections, including Drs. John Fothergill and John Coakley Lettsom. The matter of his principal fame is the subject of John B. Blake's unflattering book *Benjamin Waterhouse and the Introduction of Vaccination: a Reappraisal* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957. 95 pages).

* * *

The Historical Society of Southern California *Quarterly* published in three instalments (XXVII, [1955], 99-124, 243-260, 297-319), under the title "Laying Foundation Stones," the personal reminiscences of the political career of Herbert Hoover by Ralph Arnold. The author met the future President at Leland Stanford Junior University in 1901 and Lou Henry, the future first lady, in 1896. He was active in promoting Hoover as candidate for the presidency.

* * *

Nicholas B. Wainwright has recovered the history of "Gwynedd Hall" and published it with illustrations in the *Bulletin* of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, XI (1957), 3-24. The house in Lower Gwynedd Township is on land long owned by Welsh settlers who became Quakers. It was built in 1824 by Warder Cresson, an interesting but eccentric and irascible Friend who subsequently became a Shaker and later a Jew. The later vicissitudes of improvement and disrepair have no special Quaker connection, for Cresson sold the place in 1834. Miers Busch who bought it in 1852 named it Mayfield and enlarged and altered the house elaborately. Within a decade it was sold again and renamed Gwynedd Hall.

* * *

Modern British Quaker families figure prominently in an essay on "The Intellectual Aristocracy" in which N. G. Annan traces in a fascinating way the interlocking relations of persons noteworthy in the universities and other cultural circles since about 1800. The essay is Chapter VIII in *Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G. M. Trevelyan,* edited by J. H. Plumb, (London: Longmans, 1955).

* * *

Readers of these notes may be surprised to know that enough material exists for an article on "Whittier's Knowledge of Dante." It has been written by J. Chesley Mathews and published in *Italica,* XXXIV (1957), 234-238.

* * *

A poem on Whittier by David McCord "My Mother's Poet," was read at the sesquicentennial of the poet's birth at Haverhill, Massachusetts, and first published on the appropriate day, December 17, 1957, in the New York *Herald Tribune.*

Library Notes, published by Friends of the Haverhill Public Library, No. 8, October 1957, includes two pages on "Some Books Which Whittier Owned." It describes several of the books in a group lately acquired by the Library, many of them copies presented to the Quaker poet by their authors with an inscription. The article was written by Phyllis Haseltine of the Special Collections.

* * *

In *Religion and Life,* XXVII (1958), 224-235, is published an article by Robert O. Byrd on "Deterrence, Foreign Policy and Quakerism." Though based on historical evidence, accumulated previously by the author, this paper is a rationale expressed in his own terms of the Quaker preference for non-violent means of promoting unity, truth, and justice. The criticism that Friends have not faced the problem of evil is responded to in the concluding pages. In January 1958 a similar article by the same author was published in the Netherlands in the *Journal* of the Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Internationale Zaken.

* * *

Robert L. Kincaid has written in *Michigan History,* XLI (1957), 315-326, an account of "Robert M. Thomas: Michigan Pioneer." This Dr. Thomas (1803-1887) was son of a Quaker family which moved from North Carolina to Ohio just before he was born. He moved in 1830 to what became Schoolcraft, Michigan. He was a cousin of Secretary Edwin M. Stanton and helped found the Republican Party. With his wife, Pamela Brown from Connecticut, he was active in the Underground Railroad. His life was published in 1925 with his widow's account of their station. "The Underground Railroad at Schoolcraft" was reproduced from the latter or from a manuscript in *Michigan History,* XXXVII (1953), 177-182.

* * *

E. G. Swem's *Brothers of the Spade: Correspondence of Peter Collinson of London and of John Custis of Williamsburg, 1734-1746,* formerly published in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for 1949, has now appeared in book form (Barre, Massachusetts: Barre Gazette, 1957, 196 pages).

* * *

Notice of a Friend, "William Poole, Delaware Silversmith, (1764-1829)," is given by Ruthanna Hindes in the magazine, *Antiques,* LXIX (1956), 57.

* * *

"The Wood Family, Hammer Hollow, and the Valley Forge," by Mrs. Franklin B. Wildman, in the *Picket Post,* February 1958, pages 39-40, deals with James Wood, a Quaker ironmaker who about 1818 revived a damaged property at the famous site.

Articles in Quaker Periodicals

By LYMAN W. RILEY

The Friend

Margaret M. Harvey writes a discerning "Re-assessment of John Greenleaf Whittier," calling him "a great Quaker and a very sensitive spirit" who made a great contribution to the development of contemporary Quakerism; at the same time she offers some criticism of the poetic forms of his message and the "cloying quality" of his hymns.—Dec. 27, 1957, pp. 1203-1205.

George W. Edwards contributes a brief note on the founding of Haddonfield, New Jersey, on property owned by John Haddon of Horslydown Meeting but settled by his daughter Elizabeth.—Feb. 28, 1958, p. 264.

Friends Journal

In "William Edmondson in County Cavan, Ireland," Caroline N. Jacob tells of the establishment of a Quaker settlement there and relates some incidents of the ministry and suffering of William.—Dec. 21, 1957, pp. 826-827.

Letter from the Past No. 168 is about "The Flushing Remonstrance, 1657," the defence of Friends by the citizens of Flushing, Long Island, against Governor Stuyvesant. A stamp celebrating the tercentenary of the Remonstrance is illustrated.—Jan. 4, 1958, p. 10.

"First Quakers in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, 1658" were Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston who travelled the unexplored territory between Virginia and New England at a time when persecution in New England was severe and access by sea was impossible. Edmund Goerke relates the story of these courageous Friends who met more love and sympathy among the Indians than among the whites.—Feb. 8, 1958, pp. 86-87.

Frederick B. Tolles describes "Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1758," which was "stirred by the prophetic voice of John Woolman" to urge all Friends to free their slaves.—April 26, 1958, pp. 259-260.

Letter from the Past No. 171 is entitled "Robert Barclay's 'Secret'." In it "Now and Then" commends Barclay on three points: (1) his *Apology* confines itself to matters distinctive to Quakerism, (2) he speaks from experience, not from theory, (3) he uses as a key word, "secret," referring to the interior, vital part of religion.—May 31, 1958, pp. 349--350.

Journal of the Friends' Historical Society

John M. Douglas' 1955 Presidential Address to the Friends' Historical Society is on "Early Quakerism in Ireland"; he treats in considerable

detail a number of aspects of the first dozen years of Irish Quakerism, from both published and unpublished sources.—48 (1956), 3-32.

W. Allen Cole contributes an article on "The Social Origin of the Early Friends," based on the registers of births, deaths, and especially, marriages. The results are tabulated by area, including Lancashire, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, Buckinghamshire, Bristol, and London and Middlesex. The author analyzes these data and concludes that, from this incomplete record, during their first forty years Friends were more apt to be tradesmen or craftsmen than agriculturalists (although one-half of the early Quaker leaders came from the land), to be engaged in industry than in commerce, and to be in the textile industry than in any other. Also, very few "gentlemen" and almost no "proletarians" became Friends.—48 (1957), 99-118.

An editorial note refers to the founding of a meeting in "Bishopricke" (County Durham), in 1653, and gives some information contributed by Amy Wallis about Anthony Pearson, a leader among these Friends, but who later left the Society.—48 (1957), 119-122.

An installment of the "A. R. Barclay MSS" contains letters by Francis Howgill, John Story, Thomas Stacy, Thomas Aldam, Thomas and Joan Killam, William Ames, John Camm, John Whitehead, Marmaduke Storr, Edward Bourne, William Bingley, to Margaret Fell, George Fox, Richard Farnsworth, George Whitehead, Josiah Cole, and Lieutenant General Lambert. There is also a note dated 1654 concerning Robert Barwick.—48 (1957), 123-139.

Ormerod Greenwood edits a letter of John Woolman to Susanna Lightfoot, hitherto unpublished. He introduces the letter with a sketch of Susanna Lightfoot's life. Woolman writes words of encouragement to the woman minister, apparently in response to an expression of despair from her.—48 (1957), 147-156.

Grace B. Sherrer presents "New Evidence of Francis Mercury Van Helmont's Relations with the Quakers." She gives the record of his investment in the Box Meeting Fund during the period 1679-1682, as evidence that this famous Belgian physician was considered a Friend.—48 (1957), 157-162.

"Friends and the American Civil War: the Trent Affair," by David Large, recounts the story of the weeks of war tension in the United States and Britain at this time, and of the memorial that Friends in Britain, at the instigation of Jonathan Pim of Dublin, presented to their government. —48 (1957), 163-167.

Two brief histories of meetings are: "Quakerism in a Country Town. Burford (Oxon) and its Meeting House [1701-1955]" by Roger H. M. Warner, and "Quakerism in an Industrial Town. Some Notes on Wolverhampton Meeting, 1704-1903," by J. Clement Jones.—48 (1957), 168-174.

Russell S. Mortimer writes on "Marriage Discipline in Early Friends," a detailed study helpfully illuminated by numerous extracts from the minutes of Bristol Meeting.—48 (1957), 175-195.

CONSTITUTION AND BYLAWS of FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

As of Ninth Month 1, 1958

Historical Preamble, 1924

Friends' Historical Association* was founded Twelfth Month 4, 1873, adopted its Constitution First Month 8, 1874, and was incorporated Ninth Month 25, 1875. Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia was founded in 1904, and was merged into the older Association in Twelfth Month, 1923. The following Constitution, based upon that of 1874, with certain modifications chiefly from the Constitution of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, is now agreed upon and adopted, Fourth Month 2, 1924.

Original Preamble, 1874

"Believing that the Society of Friends has been and is potential for good and that necessity exists to create a Repository for such Books, Manuscripts, or other material as may be secured, wherewith to Elucidate its History; and realizing the importance of social intercourse in enlarging our sympathies, and creating an incentive to action in Kindred pursuits, the undersigned, for the purposes above set forth, do form ourselves into a Society to be known by the name and title of 'Friends' Historical Association'."

CONSTITUTION

Article I

Name

The name of this Association shall be Friends Historical Association.

Article II

Objects

The objects of the Association shall be to collect, preserve, and publish manuscripts and other materials bearing upon the history

* The apostrophe was dropped from the name First Month 9, 1941.

of the Society of Friends, or Quakers; to encourage and promote among its members historical reading, research, and writing in this field; to hold meetings, make historical pilgrimages, preserve and mark places and objects of special significance in Quaker history; and to cooperate with other individuals and organizations along these lines.

ARTICLE III
Membership

Any person interested in the objects of the Association is eligible for membership and may be elected thereto by a majority vote at any meeting of the Directors, or with the approval of the Secretary and one other member of the Association.

Honorary or Corresponding Members may be elected to the Association. Honorary membership shall be reserved for those who have done notable research work in the field of history, preferably in the history of the Society of Friends. Honorary and Corresponding Members shall have all the privileges of membership except voting, and shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

ARTICLE IV
Directors and Officers

The fourteen Directors prescribed by the Charter shall be divided into three classes, two classes of five each and one class of four, to be elected at the Annual Meeting of the Association. Each class shall serve for three years, respectively, the term of service of one class only expiring each year.

In order to inaugurate the above plan, the Annual Meeting in 1945 shall elect one class of five for a one-year term, one class of five for a two-year term, and one class of four for a three-year term.

The Directors shall elect annually from their number a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, who

shall serve as the officers alike of the Association and of the Directors. The Directors may fill vacancies in their number.

In addition to the regular officers as above, the Directors are empowered, as they see fit, to elect Honorary Officers from the membership of the Association.

ARTICLE V

Funds

All life membership dues, legacies, bequests, amounts oversubscribed to special funds, and such funds or other amounts as may from time to time be so appropriated by the Directors, shall constitute a Permanent Fund, to be kept invested, and the income therefrom to be used for the general purposes of the Association.

The principal of the Permanent Fund may be appropriated for other purposes of a substantial and permanent character, if such appropriation is agreed to by two-thirds of the total number of Directors, after one month's prior notice in writing stating the specific purposes proposed.

ARTICLE VI

Seal

The Seal of this Association shall be as impressed in the margin of this Constitution.

ARTICLE VII

Bylaws

The details of the management of the Association shall be provided for in the Bylaws.

ARTICLE VIII

Amendments

This Constitution may be amended at any meeting of the Association, provided that a notice of the intended amendment shall be given in writing, through the Directors to the members, two months in advance.

BYLAWS

ARTICLE I

Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held on the last Second-day of the Eleventh Month, at such place and hour as the Directors may decide. Other meetings of the Association may be called by the Directors or the President upon due notice.

ARTICLE II

Order of Business

1. Reading of Minutes
2. Report of Treasurer
3. Report of Standing Committees
4. Report of Special Committees
5. Unfinished Business
6. New Business

ARTICLE III

Nominating Committee

At the first meeting of the Directors in each calendar year the President shall appoint a committee of five members to nominate Directors to the next annual meeting. Other nominations may be presented over the signatures of three members at any Annual Meeting.

ARTICLE IV

Annual Dues

The minimum annual dues shall be three dollars, and the payment of $75.00 by a member shall entitle such member to life membership. Membership shall cease upon written resignation, or upon due notice by the Secretary after the nonpayment of dues for three successive years.

ARTICLE V

Directors' Meetings

Stated meetings of the Directors shall be held on the first Fifth-day following the first Fourth-day in the Second, Fourth,

and Tenth Months. Special meetings may be held at the call of the President, or upon the request of three Directors. Five Directors shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE VI

Committees

The President shall appoint the committees of the Association, among which shall be the following standing committees:

1. Committee on Finance, to consist of three members, who with the Treasurer shall collect and control the income and disbursements of the Association, and shall have the custody of the Permanent Fund and securities comprising it.
2. Committee on Historical Research
3. Publication Committee
4. Membership Committee
5. Entertainment Committee
6. Sites and Relics Committee

ARTICLE VII

Curator

The Directors shall be empowered to appoint a Curator and an Assistant Curator, for the custody of the collections of the Association.

ARTICLE VIII

Editor

The Directors shall be empowered to appoint an Editor and an Assistant Editor for the BULLETIN of the Association.

ARTICLE IX

Amendments

Amendments to these Bylaws may be adopted at any meeting of the Directors, by a majority vote of those present, due notice of the proposed amendment having been given at least one month previously.

FRIENDS · HISTORICAL · ASSOCIATION
1873